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THE MOST UNCERTAIN AND OBSCURE AREA OF ANABAPTIST HISTORY IS ENGLAND. In spite of considerable reference to Anabaptism in archival and documentary sources as well as in historical and literary works, no regularly organized Anabaptist congregation at a specific location has been identified in England, and no English Anabaptist preacher is known by name. Yet the substantial evidence assembled by such scholars as Irvin Horst proves the existence in England of Anabaptists and Anabaptist ideas until late in the sixteenth century. Scholars have long held that the Free Church (Separatist) movements in English Protestantism were influenced by Anabaptism, either continental or native English.

Norman Kraus has now made a careful study of one specific case of such possible influence, the case of Robert Browne, an outstanding early Separatist leader. The result, as reported in the Kraus article in this issue, is relatively negative. Browne's writings reveal a minimum of direct relationship, although there are broad similarities between his thought and that of the Anabaptsts. His denial of the accusation of Anabaptist "heresy" is valid insofar as he did not have direct association with Anabaptism and did not espouse believers' baptism. But what did Browne mean by "Anabaptism"? Was he possibly eager to avoid the obloquy attached to the name, while actually espousing some Anabaptist ideas? Whence came the broad similarities?

THE NAME OF ANDREAS KARLSTADT HAS BEEN SO OFTEN AND SO CLOSELY ASSOciated with Anabaptism from Luther's time on down, that it is surprising that no careful study has been made of their relation, or of the possible influence of Karlstadt on the movement. Conrad Grebel and his associates corresponded with him in 1524 and promoted the sale of several of his booklets, but there is little evidence of significant Karlstadtian influence. The charges of the Lutheran colleagues that Karlstadt was a Schwärmer or Anabaptist or even the founder of the movement are prejudiced and polemic conclusions.

Charles Garside's meticulously thorough study of the possible influence of Karlstadt on Ludwig Hätzer's pamphlet of September 24, 1523, against images, may not contribute much to the question of his relation to Anabaptism, since Hätzer was only a marginal figure in the movement and in any case the matter of images was certainly marginal to Anabaptism. But the Garside study, a model of its kind, delivers conclusive proof of very substantial direct Karlstadtian literary influence on Hätzer.

THE REVIEW IS HAPPY TO PUBLISH IN THIS ISSUE THREE SUBSTANTIAL DOCUMENTS, edited by three members of its editorial board, one on early Hutterite Anabaptism (an important epistle by Jakob Hutter), one an "eyewitness" account of the course of a major nineteenth century Mennonite schism by the chief actor in the schism (Daniel Brenneman), and one a sermon from an obscure mid-nineteenth century Alsatian Amish elder. The Hutter epistle, appearing for the first time in English translation, is Hutter's best, a moving testimony of the intensity and purity of conviction which moved the early Anabaptist leaders. The Brenneman document, as presented by J. C. Wenger, is pathetic evidence of the weakness of life and leadership in Indiana Mennonitism of the mid-nineteenth century. The Amish sermon is an authentic reflection of Amish ideas and practices in a period of its declension.

THE REVIEW AND DISCUSSION OF FRITZ HEYER'S KIRCHENBEGRIFF DER SCHWAERmer (appeared 1939) by John Howard Yoder, though twenty years late, is justified because of the importance of Heyer's serious theological study. The reviewer combines with it a critique of Lowell Zuck's article in *Church History* of 1957, relating them both to Karl Holl's typology of the Schwärmer.

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ANABAPTIST INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH SEPARATISM AS SEEN IN ROBERT BROWNE

C. Norman Kraus*

The extent and influence of Anabaptism in England from 1535 to 1565 is difficult to determine because it grew as a secret movement. Most of our information about it must be gleaned from the records of its opponents who used the term Anabaptist to designate a variety of heresies, and revolutionary malcontent in general.[1] Nevertheless, the records are sufficient to show that there was a constant stream of Dutch Anabaptists flowing into England during that period, and by 1565 the main tenets of Anabaptism were well known there. R. W. Dixon says that "there were more Anabaptists burned by Henry VIII than Lollards were burned in the whole of the previous century."[2] During the brief reign of Edward VI the debate with Anabaptists came out into the open, and Archbishop Cranmer followed a more lenient policy toward them. During the reign of Mary Tudor they, like all other Protestants, were ruthlessly suppressed and there is no way of separating Anabaptist martyrs from the others. With the advent of Elizabeth I there was greater leniency again, and great numbers of immigrants from the Netherlands came to England.

This influx was caused partly by the invitation extended by the English authorities to "divers strangers of the Low countries" in order to bolster the manufacturing industries, and partly by the

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1 Irvin Horst has dealt with this problem in his forthcoming book, *Anabaptism and the Early English Reformation, 1534-1553*, and gives a good survey in his article "England," in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*. See also Champlin Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters* (Cambridge, 1912).

2 R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, I (London, 1891) 40.

severe persecution initiated in the Netherlands under the Duke of Alva (1567-1573). Campbell says, "In 1560, it was estimated that England contained 10,000 refugees from Flanders, with their ministers and preachers, and in 1562 the number had increased to over 30,000."[3] He quotes Davies as estimating that over 100,000 heads of families left Holland before the end of the Duke of Alva's rule, and says that a majority of them found a home in England.

This crowd of immigrants flocked into the eastern coastal cities, many of them into London itself. In 1571 there were 3,925 Dutch and Walloons in the manufacturing town of Norwich alone. By 1587 the number had risen to 4,679, making a majority of the population.[4] Strype says that "with these [the Dutch] came our

> Anabaptists also and sectaries holding heretical and ill opinions, . . . and doctrines sprung from some of these foreigners; begin now, if not before, to be dispersed in the nation, dangerous to the established and orthodox religion and civil government.[5]

Elizabeth gave the Dutch refugees assurance that they would be protected in the exercise of their religion. Almost at once, however, there were complaints that some of them were teaching Anabaptist doctrines, and in 1560 the Ecclesiastical Commission was ordered to visit all towns and try those who were suspected of Anabaptist heresy. If any heretics were found, they were to be given a chance to recant or leave England in twenty days. The Commission presented its first case in 1562. A Dutch minister, Hamstedius, was accused of sympathy with the Anabaptists, expelled from the Dutch Church (Austin Friars) and sent back to Holland. It was clear from this and following warnings by the Queen that the English government did not mean to protect Dutch Mennonites.

In spite of the underground character of the Anabaptist movement, its tenets were fairly well known almost from the beginning. The source of this information was twofold: the writings of the continental reformers against their "heresies," and, at least as early as 1548, the writings and public debates of the Anabaptists themselves. Henry VIII gained his first impressions from the warnings sent to him by Philip of Hesse and others, but by 1540 his list of their doctrines indicates that he knew directly of the Dutch variety which was present in England. In the general pardon which he offered to the

3 Douglas Campbell, *The Puritans in Holland, England and America,* I (New York, 1892) 488-489.

4 Henry Martin Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years* (New York, 1880) 72 fn.

5 John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion During Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign,* 4th ed. (Oxford, 1824) I, 2, p. 271. Quoted from W. K. Jordan, *Development of Religious Toleration in England* (London, 1932) 296.

English people in July 1540 he excluded the Anabaptists and listed the specific errors labeled Anabaptist heresies. Among these errors he mentions the Melchiorite belief that "Christe toke no bodily substance of our blessed lady." Although Menno Simons and his followers were orthodox in their Christology apart from this peculiarity, this tenet was generally misunderstood by the English clergy and was used as a basis for many false accusations of Christological heresy and Socinianism.

Some of the other doctrines singled out as Anabaptist by Henry VIII were: (1) baptism for adults only, (2) the refusal to "beare office or rule in the Commen Welth," (3) the nonswearing of oaths, and (4) the holding of all things in common.[6] All of these are characteristics of the Dutch-Flemish Anabaptists except the holding of common property. The reference here most likely is to the Münster debacle of 1534 where common ownership of property and wives was proclaimed. This mistaken conception also led the English clergy to identify the Familists, founded in 1540 by Hendrik Niclaes, with Anabaptism. The views noted above along with the doctrine of the freedom of the will summarize the beliefs popularly attributed to the Anabaptists in England during the period from 1535 to 1600.

Anabaptist views were widely known among scholars and clergy during the years in which Robert Browne was formulating his own theological and ecclesiastical opinions, and there is no doubt that he was acquainted with them. Some have claimed that Anabaptism made a major contribution to his thought. Others have minimized its influence and denied that there was any direct connection. Browne himself, like other Puritans, tried to escape the stigma of Anabaptism and denied that his beliefs were essentially related to it. In evaluating the influence of Anabaptism on him, therefore, we are limited to an examination of his thought and of the milieu in which it developed. Fortunately we have several excellent sources to help us describe and evaluate the content and influence of Anabaptist thought in England during the 1570's. The writings of John Whitgift, in which he describes their doctrines and attempts to link the position of Thomas Cartwright with them, provide one source. Robert Browne was undoubtedly acquainted with the debate between Whitgift and Cartwright. The other source which will be investigated is the record of the arrest and trial of a group of Dutch Anabaptists who were discovered while they met for worship in London on Easter Day of 1575.

6 Irvin B. Horst, "England," *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* II (Scottdale, 1956) 216.

The Concept of Anabaptism in Whitgift's DEFENCE OF THE ANSWER. . .

Whitgift's knowledge of the Anabaptists was mostly secondhand. He used the writings of the Reformers—Zwingli, Bucer, Oecolampadius, Calvin, Bullinger—against them as the source for his description. Besides the numerous incidental references which he makes to the Anabaptists in his *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition Against the Reply of Thomas Cartwright* (1574) he appended a description of their teachings which he entitled "Certain notes and properties of anabaptists and other perturbers of the church, collected out of Zwingli and others . . . ."[7] After reading these, it is not difficult to see why the authorities refused to believe the peaceful Anabaptists from Holland when they tried to assure the Queen of their loyalty. Neither is it difficult to understand why men like Browne went out of their way to repudiate the charge of Anabaptism while at the same time appropriating some of its fundamental ideas.

The picture gleaned from the quotations is a confused one. The Anabaptists are pictured as quarrelsome, conniving, hypocritical heretics who argue over superficial differences and want to destroy the foundations of the government. The Münster episode had convinced the English clergy that Anabaptism was openly revolutionary. That "they rail and speak evil of the magistrates" is a recurring theme. They deny that magistrates are necessary for Christians. They say that Christians should not hold magisterial office. Besides this, they "revile" the ministers of the state churches, and do not admit the validity of these churches' sacraments. They claim visions and revelations, and in general "subvert what other men have builded." On the other hand they are accused of perfectionism and works-righteousness, though this is hastily accounted for by accusing them of pretense and hypocrisy.[8]

All through his *Defence* Whitgift tries to identify Cartwright's position with that of the Anabaptists. Though it is clear that he was mistaken in this association, his insights into the implication of Cartwright's position are keen, and his understanding of the central doctrines of Anabaptism is accurate. He accuses Cartwright of being close to Anabaptism in three points. In the first place, he charged that Cartwright's conception of the separation of Church and state was very near to the Anabaptist position. In his *Admonition to Parliament* Cartwright had complained that there was general confusion

7 This description was first published in the second edition of his *Answer to a Certen Libell Intituled an Admonition to the Parliament.* Works by Zwingli, Bullinger and others of the continental Reformers had for some years been translated and printed in England. See Burrage, *op. cit.*, Vol. I.

8 "The defence of the Answer to the Admonition," *Works of John Whitgift,* Parker Society edition, Vol. XLVI, 125-139.

in the Church of England because the establishment refused to make any concessions to the Puritans. Among other disorders, he pointed out that "civil matters are handled by ecclesiastical persons, and ecclesiastical by those which be civil." In reply to this charge Whitgift said,

> for many, even of the anabaptists, confess that magistrates be necessary, but yet not to be lawful for Christians to be magistrates; and, for proof thereof, they use divers of the self-same places that the Admonition hath alleged, and you allowed, against superiority in the clergy. And (except I be deceived) you come very near to them, for you will have the ecclesiastical and civil government so distinct, that they can by no means concur in one and the self-same person. . . ."[9]

In his *Answer to a Certen Libell* in 1573 Whitgift had very concisely summed up the Anabaptist position concerning the Church and state. There he says,

> They taught that the civile magistrate hath no authority in ecclesiastical matters, . . . that he ought not to meddle in causes of religion and fayth. That no man ought to be compelled to faithe, and to religion. That Christians ought to punish faultes, not with imprisonment, not with sworde, or corporall punishments, but only with excommunication.[10]

Secondly, Whitgift accused Cartwright of holding to a concept of the ministry which closely resembles the Anabaptist position. Cartwright had tried to turn the tables and show how Whitgift's argument would open the door for the "fantastical opinion wherein they [Anabaptists] hold that every man whom the Spirit moveth may come, even from the plough-tail, to the pulpit, to preach the word of God!"[11] Whitgift countered with, "The anabaptists glory of the same calling that you now contend for . . . ." He quotes Bullinger to prove his point.

> They affirm hat their calling is just, because they be called and sent of their churches, but our vocation to be unlawful, which is made of the magistrate; and therefore that they are sent of God, but we of the world and of men. You know that this was one of the first things that the mistical anabaptists moved sedition for, and that they required it of the magistrates; as Sleiden declareth, ... "Of those requests the first was, that they might choose ministers of the church, which might teach the word of God purely."[11]

Whitgift adds his own comment. "You see therefore that the anabaptists, many of them, require a vocation, and one not much unlike that which you strive for in this place and at this time."[12] In this argument Whitgift shows that he is better informed than Cartwright about the actual teaching of the Anabaptists.

9 *Ibid.*, 20
10 "An Answer to a Certen Libell," 15. Quoted from Jordan, *op. cit.*, 296-297.
11 Quoted by Whitgift in *A Defence, op. cit.*, Vol. XLVI, 412.
12 *A Defence*, Vol. XLVI, 413.

The third Anabaptist tendency which Whitgift points out in Cartwright has to do with the nature of the sacraments and their relation to preaching. Cartwright had contended that "the life of the sacraments dependeth of the preaching of the word of God, etc." Whitgift countered with,

> If the preaching of the word be so necessarily joined with the administration of the sacraments, it is in the respect of those that are to receive the sacraments, and then must it needs follow that the sacrament may be ministered to none but such as be able to hear the word of God; whereby infants must be secluded from baptism. And indeed this is one of the strongest arguments that the anabaptists use against the baptizing of infants. . . .[13]

These three passages do not, of course, prove that Cartwright was an Anabaptist nor that he was consciously influenced by them, but they do show very clearly that Whitgift was aware both of the general nature and source of such ideas. As we shall see, these passages might be used to describe the position of Robert Browne quite as well as that of the Anabaptists. They elucidate with some precision the tenets which they had in common. Further, they are sufficient to show how Anabaptist ideas did get spread among the religious leaders. Whitgift was like the cow that unintentionally helps to scatter the seeds of the cocklebur over the pasture. It is exceedingly difficult to believe that a man like Robert Browne who was fully aware of this very controversy was not conscious of the source of these ideas and influenced by them even though he did not want to be called an Anabaptist. The logic of Whitgift's argument is sound whether or not Cartwright could be accused of following it.

The Anabaptists' Trial and Confession, 1575.

We have a first-hand account of Anabaptist thought in England in the letters and confessions of faith of some who were discovered while they were gathered for worship in London on Easter Sunday of 1575.[14] The accounts which are included in van Braght's *Martyrs Mirror* give the same picture of popular misconception and prejudice. Jacque de Somere, a member of the Dutch Calvinist Church in London, felt that they were grossly misunderstood and observed that because their "religion is unknown to this nation" even the Queen was deceived into believing slanderous gossip about them. They were reported, he said, to be seditious revolutionaries who denied God and Christ and "rejected all government and authority of magistrates and higher powers as ungodly and unchristian."[15] According

13 *A Defence,* Vol. XLVIII, 23

14 The accounts are found in T. J. van Braght, *The Bloody Theater or Martyrs Mirror* (Scottdale, 1950) 1008-1024.

15 *Ibid.,* 1020.

to a letter which some of the imprisoned Anabaptists wrote they were being accused of seeking to attain salvation by works, claiming sinless perfection, not attending recognized church services nor having their children baptized, and of profaning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper by receiving it from unrecognized ministers. They also note that they are still being reproached for Münsterite "errors or abominations . . . God forbid!"[16]

The four specific questions which were used to uncover their heresy were: (1) whether they believed that Christ had assumed his flesh and blood from the substance of Mary, (2) whether they believed that infants should be baptized, (3) whether a Christian may take a civil oath, and (4) whether a Christian may hold civil office. Except for five of the group who were persuaded by the Calvinist ministers to recant and join the Dutch Church, the prisoners replied in the negative to these questions. With the help of several Dutch friends they drew up a brief statement of their faith on these and other points to be presented to Queen Elizabeth. In it they obviously have yielded as much ground as their consciences will allow.[17] Christ "is the fruit of the body of Mary," but they cannot find it in their conscience to say "that He took His flesh from the substance of the flesh of the virgin Mary." Infants do not need to be baptized because they "are in a saved state and belong to the kingdom of God." Regarding the magistrate's office in itself they confessed that

> it is not only good and profitable for the maintenance of the common welfare, but also ordained of God, for the protection of the good and the punishment of the evil . . . . But being constrained in our conscience by questions as to whether the magistrate can be a Christian, we say that to human eyes it will, for manifold obstacles, be hard and difficult; nevertheless we do not despair of it, since that which seems impossible to men is possible before God. . . .[18]

"Finally," they say, "as to swearing: In this article we agree with the Dutch preachers, that we may, with a good conscience, call God to witness in a matter of which we know and are certain." This is clearly splitting hairs, and should not be interpreted as an admission of the legitimacy of oaths.

16 *Ibid.*, 1012-1017.

17 Van Braght includes two confessions written by the prisoners. The first is signed by Hendrick Terwoort and Jan Pieters, and dated July 21, 1575. The confession contains thirteen articles of a general nature and seems to have been written to show that on the great evangelical doctrines they are in agreement with the Church of England although they cannot agree with the four articles which the bishops have insisted upon as the price of their freedom. The confession was intended for the Queen. The second confession is signed by five brethren including the two above. It is addressed specifically to the four questions which had been put to them. It is obviously a minimal statement beyond which they could never go. It does not, however, recant any basic conviction which they held. This second confession is found on pages 1022-1023 of the 1950 edition of *Martyrs Mirror*.

18 In the confession dated July 21 the question whether magistrates can be Christians is not raised. Emphasis is placed upon their respect for them as ordained by God, and their willingness to be subject to them. See p. 1018.

Anticipating for a moment the claim that Robert Browne re-received his unique doctrines from the Dutch immigrants in and around Norwich, it is interesting to note the relationship of the Dutch Calvinists to the Anabaptists in this episode. Anabaptists had been more or less tolerated by the Calvinists of Holland for some years, and in this difficult time they treated them like weaker brethren. They helped to translate the Anabaptists' answers for the English judges, discussed the issues with them at length, trying to persuade them to take a more moderate position and join the Dutch Church. Failing in this, they interceded with the officials on their behalf. Jacque de Somere, one of those who helped them to draw up their confession of faith in an acceptable style, said that he would not "hesitate to recognize them as brethren" though he disagreed with them on the questions of the oath and magistracy. The Dutch ministers did not approve the use of force to coerce conscience. In addition to this, their very existence as a legally organized church independent of direct control by the English government must have suggested certain ideas to Browne and his fellow Puritans. Here, then, in the Dutch Calvinist Church we find a group already pervaded by those principles of Anabaptism which Browne also espoused, and a church which is the embodiment of the freedom that Browne was demanding for himself.

The Thought of Robert Browne and Anabaptism

Historians have come to almost opposite conclusions about the extent to which Browne was influenced by Anabaptist thought in the forming of his own position. Earlier British historians have tried to trace Browne's doctrines directly to the Dutch immigrants in the area of Norwich, and as we have seen, the Anglican leaders tried to connect his thought with the heresy imported from the Netherlands. Dexter has shown, however, that the accounts of these historians are not altogether trustworthy in this respect, and on the basis of his examination of the evidence from Browne's autobiographical account of his spiritual pilgrimage, *A True and Short Declaration,* he concludes that there is no connection between Browne's thought and that of the Anabaptists.[19]

Douglas Campbell is much more optimistic about the connections. While Dexter looked for names of people and publications which would betray Browne's sources, Campbell was primarily interested in comparing the beliefs of Browne and the Anabaptists. Approaching the question from this angle he concludes that Browne did

19 Dexter, *op. cit.,* 103 fn.

get his ideas from the Dutch Anabaptists.[20] Campbell is correct in pointing out the general affinities of Browne's thought with that of the Anabaptists, but the way in which he *directly* connects them is too facile.

In addition to the argument of Dexter that there is no trace of such influence in Browne's own account, two other objections can be raised to Campbell's conclusion. First, the Dutch churches which were established at Norwich were not Anabaptist, though we may assume that there were Anabaptists in the vicinity. One cannot conclude with any certainty that because Browne fraternized with Dutchmen (if he did) that he fraternized with Anabaptists. As we have seen, a Calvinist congregation could easily fit the description of the church "in Norfolke" to which Browne refers. Second, the similarity between the thought of Browne and the Anabaptists is not of such a nature as to suggest an immediate adoption from them. Burrage has pointed out that "the so-called old Nonconformity, in the London Protestant congregation of Queen Mary's time, and . . . the views of many of the Marian exiles, as well as . . . the maturer opinions of later Puritans" are sufficient to account for most of Browne's views.[21]

Browne's position seems to have been greatly influenced by his own clash with the establishment concerning the procedure of ordination. Browne held that the bishop's approval was unnecessary for the validation of a minister's placement, if he had been called and installed by the vote of a congregation. According to his own account, he refused to pay for or accept the bishop's seals of his own ordination and placement. He did, however, tacitly accept them when they were obtained for him by his brother. In his opinion it was the rule of the bishops that was causing the delay in reformation. Speaking of himself he said, "vvhen R. B. savve, that the dishops [*sic*] feet vvere to much sett in euerie place, & that spiritual infection to much spread eue to the best reformed places, he tooke that occasion vvhich the Lord did first geue him for redresse. . . ."[22]

In this concern Browne's experience closely resembled that of the Swiss Anabaptist leaders who wearied of Zwingli's hesitancy to

20 Campbell, *op. cit.*, 179-180.

21 Burrage, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 68. Williston Walker concludes, "It is safe to affirm that he had no conscious indebtedness to the Anabaptists. . . . Browne may have unconsciously absorbed much from this atmosphere [into which Anabaptist ideas had been diffused], taking into his thinking such truths as were acceptable to his own study and speculation. It may well be thus that Browne was really indebted to the Anabaptists for some features of his system, though honestly believing it to be the product of his own study of the Word of God." *See Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (New York, 1893) 16, 17. Compare Troeltsch, who locates Browne in that segment of the Calvinist tradition which had been influenced by the logic of the Anabaptist position because it was already implicitly inherent in the Reformed tenets. *(Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, II)*

22 "A True and Short Declaration," quoted from *The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne*, edited by A. Peel and L. H. Carlson, (London, 1953) 398.

initiate the reform he preached because he would not act without the consent of the town council. They too had finally initiated a more radical reform without tarrying for any. He, like them, felt compelled to move ahead with reform for two reasons. In the first place, he was convinced that the magistracy had no authority over the Church in strictly spiritual matters, and therefore, there was no justification for waiting upon them to initiate a reformation. The magistrates have "no ecclesiastical authoritie at all, but onely as anie other Christians, if so be they be Christians,"[23] Browne wrote. Christ has assumed all spiritual authority which he has delegated to the Church to rule and reform its own affairs. In such affairs the magistrates should be subject to the Church, not lords over it.

> Christ is at the right hande of God, gone vp into heauen saieth Peter, to whom the Angels and powers and might are subiecte, howe then shoulde his kingdome tarie for the Magistrate, except they thinke that they are better able to vpholde it then he. Yea we must presse vnto his kingdome not tarying for anie, as it is written in Luke, & againe in Matthew, the kingdome of God suffereth violence, and the violent take it vnto them by force.[24]

Faith must be a free response. The civil authorities have no right to use physical force to produce it. Even the apostles were not allowed to coerce men. They must enter into the Church by a free covenant, and it is only on the basis of this covenant that the Church may exercise discipline. "The Lordes kingdome is not by force, neither by an armie or strength, as be kingdomes of this worlde."[24]

It is often claimed that Browne envisioned a complete separation of Church and state in much the same fashion as the Anabaptists. Whether he was actually advocating this, however, is open to question. His words may be interpreted as merely an argument against the Erastian assumption which lay back of the bishops' control. The oft-quoted passage which is used to demonstrate that Browne was advocating the separation of Church and state will not bear all the weight put upon it. The passage needs to be seen in its context and to be quoted at greater length than is generally done. The larger passage is as follows:

> We know that Moses might reforme, and the Iudges and Kings which followed him, and so may our Magistrates: yea they may reforme the Church and commaunde things expedient for the same. Yet may they doo nothing concerning the Church, but onelie ciuillie, and as ciuile Magistrates, that is, they haue not that authoritie ouer the Church, as to be Prophetes or Priestes, or spiritual Kings, as they are Magistrates ouer the same: but onelie to rule the common wealth in all outwarde Iustice, to maintaine the right, welfare, and honor

23 "A Treatise of Reformation Without Tarying For Anie," *op. cit.*, 155.
24 *Ibid.*, 161.

> thereof, with outward power, bodily punishment & ciuil forcing of men. And therefore also because the church is in a commonwealth, it is for their charge: that is concerning the outward prouision & outward justice, they are to look to it, but to compell religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiastical gouernement by lawes & penalties belongeth not to them, as is proued before, neither yet to the Church. Let vs not therfore tarie for the Magistrates: . . .[25]

Browne argued that only the civil power of Moses has passed to the civil government. It does not share his spiritual authority which he exercised as a prophet. Even in the Old Testament, he argues, the spiritual authority resided in the priesthood and in the prophetic office during the time of the monarchy. In the same manner the apostles were the authority in the New Testament Church. Just as the kings in the old dispensation were dependent upon and accepted the rebuke of the prophets, so the modern state should restrict itself to civil jurisdiction over the Church and allow the ecclesiastical leaders who have been chosen by and represent the congregation to direct and reform the life of the Church. Browne does not spell this out further in this passage; there is a certain ambiguity concerning what the magistrate may do in behalf of reform. He may reform like Moses, but only "ciuillie."

This limitation of the power of the magistrate certainly implies the principle of religious toleration, though it does not state it directly. Browne is pleading that the Church must be free—the master in its own house. Reform must not be impeded by the civil government through the bishops. Whether or not he is advocating the separation of Church and state is, to say the least, not clear. Burrage suggests that "even at this period, Browne felt that the power of the civil magistrate was one great force, which, *when properly limited,* might be used as a means of keeping the churches under state control. . . ."[26] In any case, Browne did not envision a radical separation after the manner of the Anabaptists, nor like that which has been achieved in the modern secular state. He did not, as we shall see later, construct his argument along Anabaptist lines, and he did not arrive at their conclusions.

W. K. Jordan interprets this passage as a clarion call for the separation of the Church and state, and contrasts it with the position enunciated in Browne's *Answer to Mr. Flowers Letter* written some six years later. Jordan says,

> Unfortunately Browne was not interested in a toleration that extended beyond his own group and with peculiar inconsistency he

25 *Ibid.*, 164.
26 *Op. cit.*, 105.

> alienated the power of suppressing heresy to the magistrates in a later book. The book [*Answer to Mr. Flowers Letter*] is confused, rambling, and obviously incomplete. It was written soon after he conformed and may be regarded as the work of a man whose spirit had been crushed, and should not be given the weight of the earlier treatises in an estimation of his thought.[27]

Jordan is referring to the passage in which Browne says that the civil magistrates "have their right in al causes to iudge and sett order, and it is intollerable presumption for particular persons to skan of euerie magistrates guifts or authoritie or to deny them the power of judging ecclesiastical causes."[28]

There is some reason to doubt Jordon's interpretation of both passages. It is not at all clear that the position which Browne spells out in *An Answer* simply contradicts his earlier statements. Concerning Jordan's assertion that the book is "confused, rambling and obviously incomplete," one should note that it is the informal answer to a letter demanding to know his thoughts on several points. One would not expect to find the same style and precision in such an informal letter that is displayed in the earlier polemical works. The *Answer* reveals that Browne was disillusioned with the presbyterial pattern of church government which he had suffered under in Scottland. There the tables were turned and the magistrates' rightful authority was challenged by the clergy even though they were not called bishops. However, he has not changed his fundamental point of view with reference to the nature of the ministry and its calling, the necessity of discipline in the Church, or the place of bishops. He still maintains that the magistrate has no right to force anyone to take a man "for his pastor or doctor against his conscience."[29]

Furthermore, if Jordan had added one further sentence from the passage which he quotes, his argument would have lost considerable cogency. In that sentence Browne defines "ecclesiastical causes." He says,

> For murthers, felonies, Adulteries, rebellions, blasphemies, vsurpings, Idolatries, oppressi[ons] & all other causes should be & are ecclesiastical, from which if we debar the magistrat, we vtterli make voied his office, & leaue him nothinge of a Magistrate but the bare name.[30]

It thus becomes apparent that Browne is asserting the magistrate's right to keep civil order and to supervise in ecclesiastical disputes which threaten the general peace. We would not be too far amiss to

27 W. K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England From the Beginning of the English Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1932) 266.
28 *Ibid.*, 267.
29 "An Answer to Mr. Flowers Letter," *op. cit.*, 518.
30 *Ibid.*, 521.

use this as a commentary on his earlier statement that the magistrate has a role in the reform of the Church but only "ciuillie." To call this an unfortunate inconsistency may be merely a misreading of his earlier treatises. Browne had not really progressed very far beyond his Puritan brethren in the matter of the relation of Church and state.

In the second place, Browne resembled the Anabaptists in that he felt that he must move forward with the reform because it was necessary for covenanted Christians to separate themselves from those communions which tolerated open sin and unbelievers within their ranks.

> And this is a certaine trueth, that where anie open disorder is incurable, there is not the Lords Zion, to the which he is turned to dwell therein: that is, they are not the Lordes Church, ouer whom he doeth raigne to shewe his kingdome and gouernement.[31]

It is the business of the Church to root out open evil, and if it pleads inability, then there is nothing left to do but to "withdraw our selues from them, and gather the righteous togither."[32]

This insistence upon a separated, covenanted church led Browne, as it had the Swiss Anabaptists before him, to insist upon rigorous discipline within the covenanted fellowship. In his *Treatise of Reformation* he wrote,

> Man is not able to reforme al things, and in the commonwealthes manie things are suffered. But in the Church, though hypocrites which are called the tares, can not bee rooted out, yet no open disorder shall so spreade it selfe, that it can not be remedied. Else should not the Church be called the pillar and ground of trueth, the Lordes resting place, his holie habitation, his kingdome and glorious renowne.[33]

In *A Book Which Sheweth* he wrote concerning the preparation for the Lord's Supper,

> There must be a separation from those which are none of the church, or be vnmeete to receaue, that the worthie may be onely receaued. All open offences and faultings must be redressed. All must proue and examine them selues, that their conscience be cleare by faith and repentance, before they receaue.[34]

We can summarize this area of agreement by saying that both Browne and the Anabaptists were concerned to establish the Church as a freely convenanted, disciplined fellowship free of the state's domination. Apart from this basic agreement, and it is admittedly important, there are significant differences.[35]

31 "A Treatise of Reformation," *op. cit.*, 169.
32 "A Book Which Sheweth," *op. cit.*, 276.
33 *Op. cit.*, 169.
34 *Op. cit.*, 280.
35 Burrage goes so far as to suggest that Browne viewed separation as merely a tem-

Underlying the differences between Browne's position and that of the Anabaptists which are noted by Walker and others is a fundamental difference in their view of the Old Testament and its relation to the Church. Browne in true Calvinist fashion assumes that the Old Testament is relevant for the regulation of the Church along with the New. In his *Treatise of Reformation* he uses the Old Testament almost exclusively to support his arguments. The Anabaptists held that the Old Testament had been superseded and done away with by the New. They took their clue from Christ's words, "It hath been said, , , , but I say unto you." The Old Testament types and shadows had been fulfilled in Christ. Israel had been granted the civil sword. She had been given the law of justice—"an eye for an eye"—but Jesus gave a new law, the law of love. According to their understanding, the theocratic structure of the Old Testament people of God thus had no application in the relation of the Church and state.[36] The Church is the spiritual Kingdom of God; the state is God's order for the kingdoms of this world. In this manner a radical separation of Church and state was maintained and supported from the New Testament. Thus the Anabaptists did not reject the state as the ordinance of God, but they refused to baptize it into the Christian realm or to recognize the magistracy as a Christian vocation.

Browne began with the assumption that the Old Testament theocracy was an authoritative pattern or type of the Christian Church, and thus he arrived at a much less radical view of the separation of Church and state. He believed that the Christians should use oaths, hold civil office, and even use force in defense of the state. Concerning the oath he taught that "an Othe or Swearing by God is an honoring of God in his Iustice . . . " Thus in cases of "doubt and controuersie to sweare by his name on iust occasions" is a way of furthering the Kingdom.[37] He assumed that Christians would and should hold civil office. He was merely concerned that as a civil magistrate a Christian layman should not claim undue authority in the Church. Concerning the use of force to "defende our state and

porary strategy. He says, "In . . . 'A Treatise of reformation without tarying for anie, . . . Browne shows himself to believe in separation, not as an end in itself, but rather as a means toward the ideal end of producing a true Church of England, which should be unfettered by Prince, Privy Council, Parliament, or magistrate, and the members of which should be raised to a state of all possible perfections, but of using temporary separation as a means of ultimately benefiting the condition of the State Church, to which, no doubt, he hoped to return." *Op. cit.*, I, 101.

36 Neither the Separatists nor non-Separatists followed the Anabaptists on this point. In New England the Christian theocracy—the New Israel—was viewed as the antitype of Israel in the Old Testament. The first leader in New England to grasp the difference between the Testaments and teach that the civil aspects of the Israelite theocracy were fulfilled in the spiritual kingship of Christ rather than in a Christian state was Roger Williams. There is some evidence that Williams was indebted to the Dutch Anabaptists for this insight. He did not, however, arrive at their conclusion that Christians should not take magisterial reponsibility for keeping order in society.

37 "A Book Which Sheweth," *op. cit.*, 327, 324.

welfare," he allowed both for defensive—"withstandinge the violence of the enemie when it is for Gods glorie"—and for offensive action—"assailing the enemie with force, when the cause requireth."[38]

One might suppose from Browne's doctrine of the Church and the sacraments that he would have espoused believers' baptism, but not so. Here again he interprets the covenant after the Old Testament pattern and says that the children are included in the covenant of the parents, therefore they are to be baptized in infancy as a sign of their being offered to God. In *A Booke Which Sheweth* he wrote,

> We must likewise offer and geue vp our children and others being vnder age, if they be of our household and we haue full power ouer them. . . . The children of the faithful, though they be infantes are to be offered to God and the church, that they may be Baptized. Also those infantes or children which are of the household of the faithfull, and vnder their full power.[39]

Thus we see that while there are broad similarities between the thought of Browne and the Anabaptists, the dissimilarities are of such a nature as to point to a minimum of direct relationship. Browne himself was aware that the leaders were charging him with Anabaptist heresy which he alludes to as "denying Magistrates," and tried to ward off the charge. In his denial of the accusation he was undoubtedly correct. Taking everything into consideration, he seems nearer to Cartwright's position than to that of the Dutch-Flemish Anabaptists.

38 *Ibid.*, 378
39 *Ibid.*, 256, 258

LUDWIG HAETZER'S PAMPHLET AGAINST IMAGES: A CRITICAL STUDY

CHARLES GARSIDE, JR.*

I

The history of iconoclasm in the West has yet to be written.[1] The bitter controversy over images which divided the Eastern Christian Church throughout the eighth and ninth centuries has never ceased to attract the attention of scholars; many, indeed, of the intricate artistic, theological and political problems to which the controversy gave rise have been newly discussed and clarified during recent years in a number of exceptionally penetrating studies.[2] The scholarly literature devoted to similar phenomena in the West is by comparison poor not only in quantity, but quality as well. Paradoxically enough, this state of affairs is true particularly of the sixteenth century when the iconoclasm engendered by the Reformation attained at one and the same time to an emotional intensity and a geographical extent which is possibly without parallel or precedent in the history of the Western Christian Church.[3] This is not to say that the violence of the Protestant attitude toward religious images has been ignored; one has only to read Janssen or Grisar, for instance, to become acutely aware of its existence.[4] But the iconoclasm of the Reformation has not been subjected to that exacting critical scrutiny which has so conspicuously characterized the literature dealing with its Eastern counterpart.

First of all, sufficient discrimination has yet to be made between iconoclastic movements at various times in various countries, and within the latter in various towns and cities. To cite but one example, there is a quite considerable difference in intention as well as in

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1 Julius von Végh, *Die Bilderstürmer, eine kulturgeschichtliche Studie* (Strasbourg, 1915), is, insofar as it has been possible to ascertain, the only work which attempts to deal at all with iconoclasm in the West from the Old Testament to Tolstoi. For the sixteenth century there are four chapters (pp. 20-66) devoted respectively to "Bilderverfolgungen während der Reformation in Deutschland," "Die Reformation in der Schweiz," "Bilderstürme in den Niederlanden," and "England und Schottland." The book unfortunately has no value either for the scholar or for the general reader. Entirely based on secondary sources which von Végh uses indiscriminately and uncritically, the superficiality of its treatment may be gathered from the fact that Huss, Luther, Karlstadt and the Münster episode are discussed together in only ten pages.

2 See most recently Paul J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958), chapters one and two especially, as well as the bibliography of works cited. To these must be added the now indispensable study by Ernst Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* VIII (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 83-150.

3 Karl Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 1517-1585* IV (Leipzig, 1938), p. 109, lists only six titles specifically devoted to the subject (35691-35696) together with seven additional references.

4 Johannes Janssen, *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages,* translated by A. M. Christie (St. Louis, Missouri, 1896 ff.), V, pp. 127-150 for Switzerland; for Germany, Hartmann Grisar, *Luther* (London, 1916), V, pp. 203-224, is typical.

action between the outbreaks of iconoclasm in Zürich in 1523 and those in Basel in 1529. Whereas in the latter virtually the entire city was swiftly caught up in a mass movement of unbridled ferocity against images, in the former a few individuals only were involved in isolated episodes of destruction. Accordingly, to assign Zürich and Basel to precisely the same category of iconoclastic fury as does Janssen, for instance, is as unjust as it is inaccurate.[5]

Secondly, the surviving documents of the period, those defending images as well as those attacking them, have still to be intensively examined. Such a document is the subject of the present study: "The Judgment of God our Spouse as to how one Should Hold Oneself toward all Idols and Images, according to the Holy Scriptures, by Ludwig Hätzer," published by Christopher Froschauer in Zürich on Thursday, September 24, 1523.[6] For a variety of reasons the pamphlet deserves a closer study than it has hitherto received. For the student of Hätzer it is important inasmuch as it is his first published work; with its appearance in print "he steps into the bright light of history."[7] It is the first pamphlet devoted *exclusively* to the question of images published in Zürich; insofar as it has been possible to ascertain, it has the distinction also of being the only one exclusively on that subject to appear in the city throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century. It was enormously popular; there are in all eight different German editions as well as a Latin one.[8] The role which it played in the iconoclastic demonstrations in Zürich during late September 1523 is by no means inconsiderable; more significant still is its influence on the intellectual development of Huldrych Zwingli. And finally there is the problem of the relationship of Hätzer's text to the pamphlet on the abolition of images which Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt had published in Wittenberg somewhat over a year earlier on January 27, 1522.[9]

5 Janssen, *op. cit.*, XI, p. 31.

6 Ein urteil gottes un-/sers eegemahels/ wie/ man sich mit allen götzen und/ Bildnussen halte soll/ uss der/ heiligen gschrifft gezo-/ge durch Ludwig Hätzer.

Cf. (i) Georg Wolfgang Panzer, *Annahlen der ältern deutschen Litteratur* (Nürnberg, 1805), II, Nos. 1897, 1898, 2543, and (ii) Emil Ottokar Weller, *Repertorium typographicum, Die deutsche Literatur im ersten Viertel des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Nördlingen, 1864), Nos. 2448, 2449, 2898. Johann Jakob Breitinger, "Anecdota quaedam de Ludovico Hetzero," *Museum Helveticum* (1754), VI, p. 101, maintains that the pamphlet was published first in Latin and later translated into German. F. L. Weis, *The Life and Teachings of Ludwig Hetzer, a Leader and Martyr of the Anabaptists 1500-1529* (Dorchester, 1930), p. 29, adds to the title Hätzer's motto: "O Gott erlöss die gfangnen." The first edition appeared in German without the motto; cf. Heinrich Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte* (Frauenfeld 1838), I, p. 127: "Diser zyt ging ein kleyn tütsch büchli getruckt uss." The Latin translation was published in 1524, only after the appearance in rapid succession of a second and third German edition; cf. Theod. Keim, "Ludwig Hetzer. Ein Beitrag zur Characteristik der Sectenbewegungen in der Reformationszeit," *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, I (Stuttgart, 1856), p. 220. Both errors were corrected by J. F. Gerhard Goeters, *Ludwig Hätzer, Spiritualist und Antitrinitarier, Eine Randfigur der frühen Täuferbewegung* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, XXV, Gütersloh, 1957), p. 17, fns. 5 and 6.

7 J. F. Gerhard Goeters (hereinafter cited as Goeters), *op. cit.*, p. 17.

8 Goeters, *op. cit.*, p. 36, fn. 1.

9 Andreas Karlstadt, *Von Abtuhung der Bylder und das keyn Bedtler unther den Christen*

That a relationship of some sort might exist between them has been suggested only recently by Goeters.[10] With respect to the treatment of similar subjects he is apparently the first student of Hätzer's life and thought to realize that in fact there are "many substantial points of contact (*Berührungspunkte*)" between the two authors. On the other hand, he does not specifically indicate either what these points of contact are, or in what manner, or how frequently they occur. Furthermore he maintains that no dependence of Hätzer on Karlstadt can be established.[11] The following comparative study seeks to demonstrate, however, that Goeters' assertion is incorrect; that in fact there is, to the contrary, a marked literary dependence of the one on the other.

II

Excluding the title page Hätzer's pamphlet is eighteen pages long.[12] It is divided unevenly into two sections, of which the first and longer one consists of twelve pages of thirty-three Biblical passages of varying length, all of them drawn without exception from the Old Testament. The second section, six pages in length, is written by Hätzer himself. The pamphlet as a whole betrays some evidence of hasty preparation, with respect not merely to typographical errors, but also to several incorrect references to the Biblical passages in part one. It is in the second part of the pamphlet, however, that the points of contact with Karlstadt are so apparent. Here Hätzer proposes what he considers the four principal "Arguments" (his own designation) in defense of images. To each Argument he then subjoins what he terms an "Answer" in which he vigorously rebuts the iconophile position. Hätzer's text, therefore, will in each instance be given in full translation first, to be followed by a detailed discussion and analysis of its relationship to the earlier pamphlet by Karl-

seyn sollen; cf. E. Freys and H. Barge, "Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften des Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekwesen, XXI* (1904), Nos. 87, 88, 89; see further H. Barge, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt* (Leipzig, 1905), I, pp. 386-391, for a brief discussion of the text. The text itself has been edited by Hans Lietzmann and published in the series *Kleine Texte für theologische und philologische Vorlesungen und Uebungen* (Bonn, 1911), No. 74. All further references to Karlstadt's text will be made to the page numbers of this edition, which will be cited simply as Karlstadt.

10 Goeters, *op. cit.*, p. 19. For discussion of the contents of Hätzer's pamphlet prior to Goeters, cf. Keim, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-227, and Weis, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-31. In his article on Hätzer in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, II, col. 1572, Walther Köhler curiously enough does not even include the pamphlet in his list of Hätzer's "Hauptschriften."

11 Goeters, *loc. cit.*: ". . . so ist doch keine Abhängigkeit Hätzers von Karlstadt festzustellen."

12 Walther Köhler published some portions of the German text in *Das Buch der Reformation Huldrych Zwinglis* (München, 1926), No. 164, pp. 126-128. The complete translation above has been made, however, from the text of the first edition in the Goshen College Library; cf. Nelson P. Springer, "The Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College," *MQR*, XXV (1951), p. 313. There are at least two other first editions of the pamphlet in American libraries: (1) The University of Chicago (Rare Book Room, BV 4627.13 H2.) acquired in 1891, and (2) The Bucknell Library, Crozer Theological Seminary (uncatalogued), discovered in 1955; cf. Roland Herbert Bainton, "A Treasure Hid in a Field," *The Bulletin of Crozer Theological Seminary*, Vol. 48 (1956), p. 5 and 10. The translation follows Hätzer's text as faithfully as possible: the sole change in its reorganization is the division of the First and Second *Answers* into paragraphs.

stadt. A chronological rather than a topical approach has been adopted because the former throws considerable light on the inner process by which Hätzer probably composed the four Answers.

THE FIRST ARGUMENT

All these are only citations from the Old Testament which no longer binds us or has reference to us Christians.

ANSWER

Everything pertaining to morals and reverence for God which is ordained in the Old Testament applies to us as well. If that were not so, we could also cast aside the Ten Commandments. Therefore just as God's First Commandment applies to us, you shall not have strange gods, so also does that pertaining to images apply to us, for they stand beside one another in the same commandment.[13] Moreover, just as you are enjoined by the commandment of God to kill no one, and to honor your father and mother, just so are you enjoined neither to have nor to revere images.

But that you may also have authority from the New Testament, hear then what that chosen vessel Paul says in the First Epistle to the Corinthians at the fifth chapter: I wrote to you before in a letter that you should have no dealings at all or association with fornicators.[14] By this I take it that Paul does not mean the fornicators of this world, but rather those who pretend that they are Christians. Indeed, moreover not with the greedy, nor with robbers, nor with the harlots who revere images. Here Paul, the Apostle of Jesus our Savior, speaks not with respect to the heathen, but with respect to Christians.

Item. In I Cor. at the eighth chapter he also says: we know (as if he were to say there can be no dispute) that they are not gods, and that there is no more than one God.[15] He also says in I Cor. at the tenth chapter: you (here understood: you Christians) should not offer reverence to images as some of you have done.[16] Paul also accounts and understands reverence for images among the works of the flesh the which whoever does them will nevermore come into the inheritance of the Kingdom of God; in Galatians at the fifth chapter.[17]

Peter, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, in his First Epistle at the fourth chapter likewise accounts reverence for images as among the most abominable sins, saying: Since Christ now has suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves then with the same mind, for whoever has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin. So that during the time in which he still has left to live, he shall live not according to the desires of men, but to the will of God. It should be sufficient for us that in time past we have done the wantonness of the heathen when we have lived in lasciviousness, in lusts, in drunkenness, in gluttony, in carousing, and in shameful reverence for images.[18] Hear then clearly that we shall not reverence images. All that which is said to the Israelites is said to us as well, for now we are the chosen people according to belief in Christ, as Paul signifies in many places in his epistles.

13 Literally "on one table," i.e., on the first Table of the Law.
14 I Cor. 5:9.
15 I Cor. 8:4.
16 I Cor. 10:7; 14.
17 Gal. 5:20-21; cf. also I Cor. 6:9.
18 I Peter 4:1-4.

Hätzer's Answer to the first Argument is two-fold. He first of all asserts briefly that inasmuch as the prohibition of images is inextricably bound up with the First Commandment, a denial of the validity and force of one is therefore inevitably a denial of the validity and the force of the other. Secondly, he introduces evidence for the first time from the New Testament to demonstrate that concern for idolatry was just as lively after the coming of Christ as it was before. The influence of Karlstadt may be observed in both instances.

Shortly before the conclusion of his pamphlet Karlstadt wrote, almost, it would seem, as an afterthought, "Some image-kissers say that the Old Law forbids images, and that the New does not. But we follow the New Law, and not the Old."[19] He pursues the objection by inquiring why, if the statement above is indeed correct,

> do you not also say that we are not beholden to honor our father and mother. . . . Furthermore, murder, lewdness, theft, and similar crimes are forbidden in the tables (i.e., of the Law) in which images are forbidden, and the prohibition of images stands above all as the most (i.e., important) and the greatest. The prohibition of lewdness and theft and so forth brings up the rear as the least and the smallest.[20]

The first Argument itself which Hätzer proposes clearly derives from Karlstadt, as do the terms of the initial portion of his rebuttal. Both *(a)* insist that if the iconophile argument is pushed to its logical limit, one need not as a result honor one's parents or refrain from murder. Both then *(b)* point to the fact that the prohibition of images stands together with the First Commandment so that obedience to one cannot be disassociated from obedience to the other. In both, moreover, *(c)* there is an identical movement of thought from the Old Testament to the New. The concluding page of Karlstadt's pamphlet, which follows without interruption upon the passage quoted above, consists of a brief discussion of the fact that Paul had preached against images. Hätzer, after rebutting the argument involving the Ten Commandments, likewise turns at once for the remainder of the first Answer to a consideration of Paul.

The introduction of Pauline evidence into the text of the Answer nevertheless raises a problem. Karlstadt merely cites Romans 1:23; Hätzer, to the contrary, cites from both First Corinthians and Galatians, a fact which would seem to militate against any point of contact between the two at this juncture. On the other hand, one of the most striking aspects of Karlstadt's pamphlet is the fact that out of the total number of 87 Biblical passages to which he either explicitly or implicitly refers, there are in all only eight from the Pauline

19 Karlstadt, p. 21.
20 *Ibid.*

Epistles. Four of these (I Tim. 4:16; II Cor. 5:16; Heb. 12:6; Rom. 1:23) are scattered throughout the whole text. The other four citations, however, *all* of them to First Corinthians, occur closely together within a space of 131 words. For the student of the New Testament that one passage then, even on the most cursory reading, stands out as a particularly conspicuous one. Karlstadt there writes:

> Paul also teaches that we should not keep company with those who honor images, I Cor. 5, and says yet again, you shall not honor images. You shall flee from reverence for images, I Cor. 10. See how Paul hates their reverence for images, and how we should keep no company with those who reverence images . . . yes they (i.e., the iconophiles) say, Paul says that images are nothing, I Cor. 8. We also know that they are not gods, and that there is only one God. . . . Do you not know that Paul says that whoever does such things (i.e., idolatry) will not become blessed?[21]

Karlstadt and Hätzer both begin *(a)* by stressing Paul's admonition to avoid idolaters. Both, although, to be sure, in reversed order, point to *(b)* Paul's warning to flee from idolatry as well as *(c)* his statement that idols are not gods and that there is only one God. Both conclude with *(d)* Paul's declaration to those who revere images that they shall not inherit the kingdom of God. Karlstadt cites First Corinthians here, Hätzer Galatians, but in both cases Paul's thought is identical. It must be noted, too, that even the total length of both passages is almost the same; for Karlstadt, 131 words, for Hätzer, 147. So close a parallelism can hardly be accidental.

The following conjecture is therefore proposed with regard to the composition of Hätzer's first Answer. The reading of Karlstadt probably inspired him to write a pamphlet of his own on the same subject. Since what constitutes his initial Argument is the last major one to appear in Karlstadt, it became, not unnaturally, the first one to appear in Hätzer. Drawing thus on Karlstadt's concluding material, Hätzer's attention must then have been caught by the reference to Romans on the very last page. Since the single passage devoted to Paul's preaching against idolatry is so very conspicuous within the whole structure of Karlstadt's pamphlet, it was probably recalled to Hätzer's mind so that he turned back to it for the substance of the rest of his first Answer.

THE SECOND ARGUMENT

> But we do not honor images nor pray to them, but rather the saints whom they portray to us.

ANSWER

> Say what you will, godless ones, even though you do not revere them, Christians shall have no images. Thus speaks God. If, then,

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

you say that you revere the saints, you do that yet without the commandment and the Word of God, for to no other will He allow the reverence due to Him. He is a jealous one who will not permit the soul to rely on the creature or to seek help, health, solace, or anything else from the creature. He (i.e., Christ) wishes us to look for these as much in Him as in Our Father; Matthew, at the eleventh chapter: Come to me, all those who labor and are burdened; I, I will give you peace.[22]

Item. The saints did not want to tolerate such reverence from men, as you have in Acts at the third chapter in which Peter and John did not want to be regarded as if they had helped the forty-year-old cripple, but cast all reverence before Jesus.[23] For in no other is there salvation, health or blessedness save in Him alone, and there is no other name under heaven in which there is salvation except in the one name Jesus. Acts 4:24.[24] But that we do seek such things from the dead saints and not from God is clear enough. We sacrifice to them and burn oil candles before them. For each particular sickness we have a particular saint, and if we get well, we then ascribe all honor to them by hanging waxen ears, hands, feet and eyes on their soot blackened images.

Item. We run to them to Stammheim,[25] Rome,[26] Einsiedeln,[27] Aachen.[28] All this they (i.e., the saints) did not want to tolerate

22 Matt. 11:28.
23 Acts 3:12-16.
24 Acts 4:12.

25 In marked contrast to Rome, Einsiedeln, and Aachen, the significance of the shrine of St. Anne at Ober-Stammheim was local rather than international, as well as being of comparatively recent origin. Pilgrimages from Zürich to venerate a statue of St. Anne, to which various miracles had been attributed, were quite suddenly initiated only in 1507. The statue apparently stood at first in the open air, but either in 1508 or 1509 a small chapel was built to house it to which the Zürich City Council presented a window painted by Lux Zeiner. The foundation document for the chaplain's living is dated January 21, 1510. Thereafter the shrine grew rapidly in importance, evidenced not only by the increasingly sumptuous appointments of the chapel, but also by the fact that Hans Stockar of Schaffhausen, who journeyed to the Holy Land and Compostella in 1519, did not disdain to make a pilgrimage as well to St. Anne at Ober-Stammheim in 1520. The history of the shrine as a pious goal for pilgrims came to an abrupt end in 1524 when both the miraculous statue and the contents of the chapel were destroyed. See Alfred Farner, *Geschichte der Kirchgemeinde Stammheim und Umgebung* (Zürich, 1911), pp. 108-111; p. 135. For the cult of St. Anne generally, cf. Ernst Schaumkell, *Der Kultus der Heiligen Anna am Ausgange des Mittelalters, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des religiösen Lebens am Vorabend der Reformation* (Leipzig, 1893), *passim*.

26 The importance of pilgrimages to Rome in the Middle Ages requires no detailed comment.

27 Einsiedeln was a famous monastery some few miles south of Zürich where since 948 there had been a chapel sacred to the Virgin Mary. According to legend, it was dedicated by the Angel of the Covenant [Christ Himself]. Owing to this "Engelweihe," to the statue of the Virgin in the chapel which was purported to be of miraculous origin, and to the fact that plenary indulgence had been granted to all those who came there, Einsiedeln rapidly became the goal for an ever-increasing number of pilgrimages until by the sixteenth century it was the principal shrine of South Germany and Switzerland; for a detailed history of the shrine, see Odilo Ringholz, *Wallfahrtsgeschichte unserer lieben Frau von Einsiedeln* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896), *passim*. The humanist Glareanus in his description of Switzerland praised the shrine as follows: "The rule of the Godhead is more gracious at Einsiedeln than anywhere else, and the Virgin Mary's presence on her altars is more efficacious"; quoted by Oskar Farner, *Huldrych Zwingli, II, Seine Entwicklung zum Reformator, 1506-1520* (Zürich, 1946), p. 213. Zwingli himself referred to it as "the most sought after chapel of the Mother of God in all Germany" *(Huldrych Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* [Leipzig, 1905 ff.], VII, No. 51, p. 120), and for Zürich it was especially important. Once every year a great procession was made from the city to the shrine in which every house in the city required to send at least one person: cf. Oskar Farner, *Huldrych Zwingli,* III, *Seine Verkündigung und ihre ersten Früchte* (Zürich, 1954), p. 20.

28 The cathedral at Aachen had been the goal of pilgrimages as early as 950, the general number of which greatly increased after the canonization of Charlemagne in 1165. The four "Great Relics" (the swaddling clothes of the infant Jesus, the winding sheet of John the Baptist, a cloak belonging to the Virgin Mary, and the loincloth worn by Christ on the Cross, on which His blood was still visible) were housed in a magnificent reliquary and exhibited to the pilgrims every seven years, a custom dating back to 1354 at least, if not earlier. Aachen became so famous that apparently 142,000 faithful made a pilgrimage there

during their lifetime. Acts 14.[29] God alone wants to be adored, called upon and reverenced. By your own deeds I shall prove that you have honored images which are made of wood and stone. Is not the fact that you put them on the altar which should have been erected for God alone a great honor? If a baptized Christian were to stand up, you would then practically tell him who is a member of Christ to get down, and you would put in his place a soot-blackened oil idol.

Item. You put them in the church, which is a house of God, where only God should be reverenced and called upon, and thus you make of it a murderers' pit. Are not images and oil idols murderers when they kill souls and lead them away from God their Spouse? Away with them to the fire; that is where the wood belongs.

Item. One says that these are saints; that this is Our Lady, that that is St. Anne, and so forth. If they are saints, then any sculptor can make a saint; indeed, the Pope and the sculptor can do exactly the same thing. Then shall we not have a crucifix? We shall apprehend Christ no longer according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. I Cor. 5.[30] For we are a new creature. Our prayers shall no longer be made before images, but in Spirit and in Truth. John 4.[31]

Item. It is known that one honors them. Why does one gild the idols? Why then does one dress them up frequently in silk? Why does one seek compassion from them? Why does one bow down before them? In sum: say what you will, to these shabby idols one still accords honor which is due to God alone. From whence comes the familiar verse: *Christophore sancte, virtutes sunt tibi tantes,* and so forth.[32]

Hätzer undertakes here to refute the long-established idea that such honor as is rendered to representations of the saints is given not to the visible image itself, but to the saint who is represented by it.[33] He is aware of the distinction upon which theologians had long insisted; he is acutely aware, too, that this distinction had been hopelessly blurred, if not lost entirely, by the common people, and that

in one year (1496); cf. L. Boiteux, article "Aix-La-Chapelle," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie Ecclesiastiques* (Paris, 1912 ff.), especially cols. 1258-1262, and the extensive bibliography cited.

29 Acts 14:14-18.

30 I Cor. 5:3-5.

31 John 4:23-24.

32 The complete text of the verse is as follows: "Christophore sancte, virtutes sunt tibi tantae; Qui te mane videt, nocturno tempore ridet." Cf. Joannes Molanus, *De Historia SS. Imaginum et Picturarum pro vero earum usu contra abusus,* in Migne, *Theologiae Cursus Completus* (Paris, 1843), Vol. 27, col. 242. See also Luther's condemnation of the veneration of St. Christopher in his sermon of 1516, *De Decem Praeceptis:* "Tantum habet honoris, ut nullus apostolorum sit ei conferendus; virtutes sunt tibi tantae; qui te mane videt, nocturno tempore ridet, nec satanas caedat nec mors subitanea laedat," cited by Hermann Siebert, *Beiträge zur vorreformatorischen Heiligen- und Reliquienverehrung* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907), p. 34. According to a belief popularly held at the time, whoever saw an image of St. Christopher in the morning would remain safe from an unrepentant death throughout the remainder of that day. Consequently a large image (whether painted or carved is at present undecided) of St. Christopher, protected by a wooden roof, was placed prominently on the west side of the chapter house adjoining the Great Minster in Zürich so that it might be seen by all who entered the church every day; cf. Konrad Escher, "Das Zürcher Grossmünster am Vorabend der Reformation," *Zwingliana IV* (1928), No. 1, p. 477. It is not impossible, then, that Hätzer was especially drawn to the passage in Karlstadt because of the association in his mind with the great St. Christopher image in Zürich.

33 The classic formulation of the distinction is that of St. Basil in his *De Spiritu Sancto,* XVIII, 45 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* XXXII, 149C): "The honor rendered to the image passes to the prototype," quoted by Gerhart B. Ladner, "The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers VII* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 3, and p. 22, fn. 1.

their worship was in fact extended to the visible image itself.[34] To prove this he points to the accumulation of votive offerings placed before and on saints' images, the notion widespread at the time that certain saints could cure certain diseases, and the ever-increasing number of pilgrimages to shrines where the relics of great saints were supposedly preserved. Throughout the second Answer the influence of Karlstadt is more marked even than in the previous one.

There are first of all several phrases in the text which in themselves may be said to intimate, rather than to demonstrate directly, that Hätzer used Karlstadt's pamphlet. The opening words of the second Answer, "Say what you will, Godless ones *(Sag du gotloser was du wilt),* even though you do not revere them, Christians shall have no images. Thus speaks God," as well as the closing ones, "say what you will *(sag ws du wilt),* to these shabby idols one still does honor" recall Karlstadt's sentences:

> Indeed I do not worship images. I do not honor them for their sakes, but because of the saints whom they portray. God replies briefly, and in simple words. You shall not worship them; you shall not honor them; interpret it how you will *(Glossiers wie du kanst),* you simply cannot worship them.[35]

Again in terms of intimation Hätzer says, "By your own deeds I shall prove that you have honored images"; Karlstadt had said that "our deed convinces us that we have loved images."[36]

Hätzer's dependence on Karlstadt emerges far more clearly, however, in the passage where he maintains that owing to the presence of saints' images the church, where God alone should be worshipped, has become "a murderers' pit *(ein mörder grüb)";* "are not images and oil idols murderers," he continues, "when they kill souls and lead them away from God their Spouse?" The figure of speech is undeniably an arresting one; it derives directly from Karlstadt who with equal force employs it twice in an identical context:

> God's houses are houses in which God alone should be heard, called upon, and worshiped. As Christ says, my house is a house of prayer, and you make it a murderers' pit *(eine grube der morder)* in that deceitful images murder all worshipers[37] . . . therefore our temples may easily be called murderers' pits *(morders gruben)* because in them our spirits are killed and beaten.[38]

A paragraph later Karlstadt decries the practice of making votive offerings before pictures and statues of the saints:

34 For criticism of popular superstition regarding images drawn from sources prior to the Reformation, see G. G. Coulton, *The Fate of Mediaeval Art in the Renaissance and Reformation* (New York, 1958), pp. 371-379.
35 Karlstadt, p. 7.
36 *Ibid.,* p. 4.
37 *Ibid.*
38 *Ibid.,* p. 3.

> You put lights on them . . . you bring waxen sacrifices to them in the form of your sick legs, arms, eyes, heads, feet, hands . . . as if such images had given you healthy legs, arms, eyes, heads, and so forth. . . .[39]

And shortly thereafter he attacks pilgrimages, complaining that the people "run to the oil idols . . . they look for them in special places such as in the Marck, in Grimmental, at Rome and the like."[40] Hätzer similarly objects to all these practices, especially that of assigning particular diseases and their cures to particular saints. "If we get well," he says, "we then ascribe all honor to them by hanging waxen ears, hands, feet and eyes on their soot-blackened images.[41] Item. We run to them, to Stammheim, Rome, Einsiedeln, Aachen."

The parallelism between these passages is striking; that these are more than simply points of contact is suggested by a comparison of the structure of the contexts in which the passages occur. Karlstadt first makes *(a)* the general statement that God's houses have become murderers' pits. The phrase *(b)* "our deed convinces us that we have loved images" then acts as a fulcrum by means of which he proceeds from the general statement to *(c)* the enumeration of specific abuses, closing with an attack on pilgrimages. Hätzer, on the other hand, starts with *(c)* the enumeration of specific abuses, including pilgrimages. He continues by saying, *(b)* "By your own deeds I shall prove that you have honored images," a phrase which acts also as a fulcrum to lead him to the general statement *(a)* that God's house has become a murderers' pit. Hätzer is more compact than Karlstadt and he reverses the movement of Karlstadt's thought, just as he had done in the latter part of the first Answer. But as with the first Answer the content of both passages is identical.

The most extensive single section in the second Answer, however, consists of Hätzer's interpretation of how the saints themselves considered this problem of idolatry. From the point of view of Biblical evidence the crucial passage which he elects to support his view is the miracle of healing reported in Acts 3-4. Hätzer argues from these texts that Peter and John "did not want to tolerate such reverence from men"; "all this they did not want to tolerate during their lifetime." Karlstadt cites exactly the same texts to defend exactly the same point of view as follows:

> You wish to do honor to the saints in images, the same honors, moreover, which they forbade and from which they fled in their lives.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
40 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
41 Cf. the revealing letter of a student at Wittenberg of 1523: "Dear Mother: . . . I am grateful to you for sending me the little wax *Agnus Dei*, to protect me from being shot, cut, and from falling, but honestly it won't do me any good. I cannot set my faith on it because God's Word teaches me to trust only in Jesus Christ. I am sending it back" (quoted by Roland Herbert Bainton, *Here I Stand, A Life of Martin Luther* [New York, 1950], p. 308.)

> They have never been able to tolerate the fact that sacrifices were given to them or that they were called upon; as Peter said, there is only one name among men in which you may be saved. Acts 4. . . . Do you not know that they looked at Peter and wondered, and that Peter said: You men, why do you wonder and look at us, as if we had done that by means of our own power and strength, (namely) that the lame man walked. We have done this thing through trust in the Lord Jesus, whom God sent to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Acts 3.[42]

Moreover, in Karlstadt's next paragraph, indeed, only 105 words later, the following passage occurs: "But what will you say to the familiar *(Pachantten)* verse, Christoffore sancte virtutes sunt tibi tante. . . ."[43] Precisely the same verse is cited by Hätzer at the conclusion of the second Answer; in fact he even employs precisely the same adjective *(Bachanten)* to describe it.

The text of Hätzer's second Answer would thus seem to derive primarily from two separate portions of Karlstadt's pamphlet. From pages four through six he drew the material for the middle part of the Answer, abuses of saints' images, pilgrimages and the desecration of God's house; from page thirteen he drew the opening section based on Acts 3—4 as well as his concluding sentence. It must be emphasized, too, that as with the first Answer, the material which Hätzer utilized is not scattered widely throughout Karlstadt's text; almost all of it, to the contrary, is to be found concentrated in one or two places. The fact is not without significance, for it gives to the unusual number of "points of contact" in both pamphlets a consistent identity of context which can scarcely be fortuitous. It can point only to a systematic dependence.

THE THIRD ARGUMENT

They are books for laymen.

ANSWER

> That is human folly. Gregory says such things, but God does not. Indeed, God says completely otherwise. God repudiates images, and you want to teach from that book which God has repudiated. O Antichrist, you love what God hates and is a bane to God. Do you want to learn to know God? Then read the Scripture which gives witness of Him in John 5.[44] Read His word, not that of men. He speaks in John 10: My sheep hear my voice, and so forth.[45]

In both of his famous letters to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, Gregory the Great had maintained that for those who were unable to read Scripture, a picture could legitimately function as a viable substitute.[46] The doctrine had been normative for the use of images in

42 Karlstadt, p. 13.
43 *Ibid.*
44 John 5:37-40.
45 John 10:27.
46 Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 77, cols. 1027-1028; cols. 1128-1129 for the Latin text

churches in the West ever since the eighth century. Gregory's stipulation, however, had distinctly been for those who could not read. Hätzer indicates simply the layman, evading thereby the problem of the actual illiterate. He has so reformulated both the Argument and the Answer that it has become instead a question of those who *can* read, but who nonetheless prefer images to Scripture, a fact underscored when Hätzer urges those who want to learn to know God to "read His Word," "to read the Scriptures." The source for this reformulation is once again to be found in Karlstadt's pamphlet when he writes:

> Gregory the Pope has not forgotten his papal way, and has accorded to images the honor which God has given to His Word, and says that images are books for laymen.[47]

Following his reference to Gregory, Hätzer cites two passages from John's Gospel. For the first, chapter 5, he gives no indication whatever of the verses he had in mind; for the second, chapter 10, he indicates specifically that he means verse 27: "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me." It would seem, however, to have little, if any, relevance to the issue of images and image worship. But precisely the same text appears likewise in Karlstadt; it appears, moreover, in precisely the same context. Immediately after the sentence quoted above Karlstadt had asked:

> Is that not a real papistical doctrine and devilish proclamation that the sheep of Christ may use forbidden and deceiving books or examples? Christ says: My sheep hear my voice. He does not say: They see my image or those of the saints.[48]

Obviously Karlstadt is using the phrase "the sheep of Christ" in traditional fashion as a symbol for Christians. To pursue the figure of speech with a specific reference to John 10:27 is consequently quite natural, particularly inasmuch as he is careful to note subsequently that Christ did not say, "they see my image," thereby giving an almost poignant edge to the contrast between Christ and the Pope. Far more significant, however, is Karlstadt's conjunction within an extremely brief compass (68 words) of an attack on Gregorian doctrine together with the citation of that particular verse from John. It is completely intelligible in Karlstadt; in Hätzer's brief (73 words) text it is almost cryptic. In fact Hätzer's thought can only be fully

of the two letters; English translation by James Barmbey in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church,* Second Series (New York, 1898), Vol. XIII, p. 267; pp. 297-298. The doctrine was compactly formulated by Gregory in the first letter (Book IX, Epistle CV) as follows: "For pictorial representation is made use of in churches for this reason; that such as are ignorant of letters may at least read by looking at the walls what they cannot read in books."

47 Karlstadt, p. 8.

48 *Ibid.*

grasped here by referring to Karlstadt, so great is his dependence on the latter in the third Answer.

THE FOURTH ARGUMENT

They induce men to reverence and improvement.

ANSWER

O hypocrite! All the images on earth carried to one pile cannot by a hair make you more pious or more reverent or draw you toward God. For Christ speaks in John 6: No one comes to me unless God my heavenly father draws him.[49] Why do you attribute to the wood that which Christ ascribes only to His heavenly Father? Item. John 14. No one comes to the father except by me.[50] He is the way; He is the door. Why then, you lubberhead, do you come to God through these idols?

Therefore let all Christians strive diligently to do away with idols without hesitation before God visits them with that punishment which he is accustomed to send to all those who do not follow His word. If anyone here still wishes to decorate a temple, let him give diligently to the poor who are a living temple. Thus we will have eternal joy. Amen.

It is also to be observed that this word *idolon* which in Latin is called *simulacrum* is, in German, called a portrait or likeness. Therefore, wherever in Scripture the idols are forbidden, not only are the false gods, but also the portraits and likenesses forbidden. In that, however, the Papists wrongly think idolon to mean a false god. But it is an image or likeness, too. And if the false gods are especially forbidden, so, too, are the images especially forbidden wherever one finds idolum.

Of the three paragraphs into which the final Answer is subdivided, only the first one betrays the influence of Karlstadt. In the opening sentence Hätzer exclaims that "all the images on earth carried to one pile cannot by a hair make you more pious or more reverent or draw you toward God." Karlstadt had written: "Let all the images on earth come together and still they will be unable to give you one little sigh toward God."[51] The conspicuous similarity of ideas is self-evident. Once again, moreover, a comparison of the contexts in which the sentences appear indicates that this is more than merely a point of contact.

Directly before the key sentence Karlstadt wrote:

> You cannot even say that the image of Christ has brought you to Christ, for it is always true that no one comes to me (i.e., Christ) unless my father has drawn him. They who come to Christ must all be scholars of God, John 6, and neither be admonished nor taught to come to Christ by images.[52]

49 John 6:44.
50 John 14:6.
51 Karlstadt, p. 16.
52 *Ibid.*

Hätzer cites John 6 directly after the key sentence, and only one sentence later, John 14. The progression in Karlstadt is accordingly from John 14 to John 6 to the key sentence; the progression in Hätzer is from the key sentence to John 6 to John 14. The order of Biblical references is thus inverted, recalling the curious pattern of the first and second Answers in which Hätzer similarly reversed material which he had drawn from Karlstadt. The contexts, however, are again identical. Since the key sentence in Karlstadt is set off by itself in a single paragraph Hätzer probably found it too compelling not to use and simply duplicated, either consciously or unconsciously, the context in which he found it.

III

The comparison and analysis above would thus seem to indicate that Hätzer must not only have known Karlstadt's text thoroughly, but also used it extensively for the preparation of his own. The fact must be recognized, notwithstanding, that the nature of the evidence submitted, although consistent and persuasive throughout, is exclusively literary and internal. Hätzer's pamphlet appeared suddenly in September 1523. Prior to its publication he had been a chaplain at Wädenswil from *ca.* 1520 on, but virtually nothing is known of his activity there. Not even the date of his departure for Zürich can be set with any precision beyond the summer or early fall of 1523, with the result that at present it is impossible to determine whether he wrote the pamphlet at Wädenswil or in Zürich.[53] Consequently there is as yet no *external* evidence of any sort on which dependence may be proven. In this respect Goeters' contention is entirely defensible. On the other hand, Karlstadt's pamphlet had been published for well over a year before September 1523, so that it was unquestionably available to Hätzer, although how and when he procured a copy cannot now be determined.[54] All that may be said, then, is that from the accumulation of internal evidence he must at some time after its publication either have familiarized himself with it completely, or, as would seem more likely, had it before him when he composed his own.

53 On Tuesday, September 1, 1523, Leo Jud delivered an impassioned sermon in St. Peter's, not only denouncing the use of images, statues or paintings in church, but demanding, possibly for the first time, their removal as well; cf. Emil Egli, *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1533* (Zürich, 1879), No. 416, in which Simon Weber, a member of Jud's congregation, reported that "Herr Löw preached on St. Verena's Day that it could be proved from the Holy Scripture that it was right for idols to be removed from the churches"; cf. also Egli, *Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte,* I (Zürich, 1910), p. 96, and further, Oskar Farner, *Huldrych Zwingli,* III, *Seine Verkündigung und ihre ersten Früchte* (Zürich, 1954), p. 428. Since Hätzer's pamphlet gives evidence of hasty preparation, it is not impossible that he may have been in Zürich by September 1, and having heard Jud's sermon, been inspired thereby to write against images.

54 Karlstadt's first known contact with Zürich did not occur until the summer of 1524, probably in July, when Conrad Grebel wrote him; H. S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, 1950), p. 108. Bender suggests (*op. cit.,* p. 197) that Grebel may have read Karlstadt's pam-

Nevertheless Hätzer's dependence on Karlstadt in no wise detracts either from the originality or the significance of his text. With respect to its originality particularly, attention must be drawn to the technique which he employed in the first twelve pages of the pamphlet. The whole of part one is subdivided into three unequal sections in strict conformity with the formal structure of an academic disputation, each section consisting of a thesis followed by a selection of Biblical texts which support it.[55] The initial thesis is a follows: "God our Father and Spouse forbids us to make images."[56] To this are subjoined nine passages (ai-aii verso; 2½ pages) from the Old Testament; Exod. 20:3, 4, 5 (incomplete); Exod. 20:22, 23; Exod. 34: 17; Lev. 19:4; Lev. 26:1; Deut. 4:15 (incomplete), 16-19; Deut. 4:23, 24; Deut. 5:6-8, 9 (incomplete); I Sam. 7:3 (incomplete).

To the second thesis, "God intends to destroy images as well as those who possess them and honor them,"[57] are appended nineteen passages (aii *verso*-bii *verso;* 8 pages) from the Old Testament: Num. 25:4 (with a summary of 25:1-3); Deut. 4:25-28; Deut. 7:5, 6 (incomplete); Deut. 12:1-13;[58] Deut. 13:1-4, 5 (incomplete); Deut. 27:15; Jos. 24:19, 20;[59] Jgs. 10:15, 16; Ps. 69;[60] Ps. 115; Wisdom 14:11-13 (a paraphrase), 14 (incomplete), 27 (a paraphrase); Is. 42:17, 8 (incomplete); Is. 44:6, 9-20; Jer. 10:14, 15; Jer. 13:9, 10 (incomplete); Ezek. 14:2-6, 7, 8 (a paraphrase); Ezek. 6:3 (incomplete),[61] 4, 5, 6 (incomplete), 7 (incomplete); Mic. 1:7; Heb. 2:18, 19.

The third and last thesis is as follows: "The deed of those who have done away with images and idols will be praised and glorified."[62] This is defended by the following passages (aii *verso*-bii *verso;* 1½ pages), all of them, as before, from the Old Testament: II Kgs. 18:4 (almost complete); II Kgs. 23:14, 15, 4 (paraphrased in part); II Chron. 33:15 (paraphrase); II Kgs. 17 (brief summary); Bar. 6 (brief summary).

Karlstadt had similarly adverted to many such inconoclastic passages throughout the course of his pamphlet, but seldom, if ever, had he quoted them directly. As a result the impact of virtually every single one of the eighty-seven Biblical citations which he makes

phlet, "but this is pure supposition"; if, however, Hätzer obtained his copy after his arrival in Zürich, Grebel may have seen one as well.

55 The Wisdom of Solomon, Ch. 14, and Baruch, Ch. 6, are among those cited. Since the Apocryphal Books were included in the mediaeval canon, Goeters (*op. cit.*, p. 18) concludes that Hätzer used the Vulgate for his Biblical references.

56 "Got unser vatter und Egmahel verbüt uns die bilder ze machen."

57 "Got heist die bild zerbrechen/und von der straff deren die sy haben und eerend."

58 Hätzer cites Chapter 11 in his text, the first of several incorrect references.

59 Hätzer incorrectly cites Chapter 27.

60 Clearly another error; Psalm 69 has no relevance to the iconoclastic theme. Possibly Hätzer had in mind Ps. 97:7.

61 Hätzer incorrectly cites Chapter 16.

62 "Die that deren die bild und götzen abgethon hand, wirt gerümpt und prisen."

is weakened by the fact that they are submerged, as it were, in the anfractuosities of his prose. Hätzer, on the other hand, realized to the fullest possible extent his opportunity to reveal the Old Testament witness to the dangers inherent in images. Piling Scriptural statement on Scriptural statement, either in direct quotation, paraphrase, or compact summary, he let them stand entirely by themselves. The result is a massive indictment of religious art from the Word of God alone, unencumbered by human commentary. It is monotonous,[63] admittedly, but its eloquence and its power as iconoclastic propaganda derives precisely from this monotony. To search through the whole of the Old Testament for the relevant passages was no longer necessary; Hätzer had collected thirty-three of the most striking ones, translated them into the vernacular, and made them easily accessible to learned and unlearned alike.

In the remaining section of the pamphlet as well, he also utilized his formal opportunities to the fullest extent. Here he went to the core, not of Scripture, but of Karlstadt's text, seized on the principal lines of the latter's thought, reduced them to their simplest elements, and proceeded to reorganize them into the essentially dramatic Argument-Answer form. As a result the six pages of part two are, by virtue of their taut organization and congested style, more effective by far than the loose structure and diffuse style of Karlstadt's twenty-two pages. The substance of Hätzer's pages is not original, to be sure; on the other hand, his deployment of ideas not his own is strikingly so. The instantaneous popularity of the pamphlet affords ample testimony to the success of his technique as a propagandist.

Finally the fact that Hätzer knew and used Karlstadt's text actually gives to it a larger, albeit subtler, significance within the whole history of the Protestant revolt against images in the early sixteenth century. The pamphlet had an important role in the iconoclastic demonstrations which took place in Zürich after its publication. Its arguments were to exert a not inconsiderable influence on Zwingli's iconoclasm; indeed, inasmuch as since January 1523, Zwingli had been given power of censorship over all books published in Zürich, the pamphlet must have been issued not only with his knowledge, but with his approval as well.[64] Furthermore, in his *A Brief Christian Introduction* of November 1523, when he addressed himself to the problem of educating pastors in the textual authority of Scripture against images, Zwingli referred to Hätzer's pamphlet with enthusiasm, writing of it that

63 Goeters, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
64 E. Egli, *Aktensammlung, op. cit.*, No. 319; cf. also Goeters, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

> The little book concerning the abolition of images which appeared a short time ago may serve this purpose well; for it contains many citations from Scripture.[65]

And two years later in 1525 the impress of some of Hätzer's ideas is still to be observed in the great treatise against images incorporated into Zwingli's *Answer to Valentin Compar.*[66] But both the demonstrations in Zürich and the development of Zwingli's arguments against images have been regarded up to the present as phenomena wholly independent of Karlstadt and Wittenberg.[67]

Hätzer's pamphlet provides an intellectual link between the two. Through his re-working and condensation of Karlstadt's text some, at least, of the latter's major ideas were transmitted to Zürich and eventually, again through Hätzer's mediation, to Zwingli. Thus a great line may now be drawn from Karlstadt's pamphlet of 1522 to Hätzer's re-formulation of its contents in 1523 to Zwingli's systematic and exhaustive statement on religious art in the *Answer to Valentin Compar* of 1525 which in effect brings to a close the first major stage in the theoretical repudiation of images by Reformed Protestantism. Seen from this point of view, Hätzer's "The Judgment of God our Spouse" is not simply "in its way a masterly performance of reformatory propaganda";[68] it also plays a wider part in a hitherto neglected aspect of the intellectual history of the Reformation.

65 *Huldrych Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke,* II, p. 654.
66 *Ibid.,* IV, pp. 84-152.
67 The author is presently at work on a full-scale study of Zwingli's attitude toward music as well as the visual arts, in which all these complicated developments will be analyzed in detail.
68 Goeters, *op. cit.,* p. 19.

JAKOB HUTTER'S LAST EPISTLE TO THE CHURCH IN MORAVIA, 1535

ROBERT FRIEDMANN*

If one wants to know Anabaptism at its very best, its spirit and its testimony in the days of harshest persecution and at the same time the most emphatic affirmation of this new (actually oldest) way of Christian life and witnessing, then few documents would match Jakob Hutter's numerous epistles to his beloved church and brotherhood in Moravia. The one here published for the first time in an English translation[1] is certainly one of the finest of the eight extant letters of this outstanding leader of the first generation of Anabaptists.

Jakob Hutter, born about 1500 in the small village of Moos near Bruneck in the Puster Valley, Tyrol, did not invent the community type of brotherhood living characteristic of the "Hutterites" in Moravia (Wideman, Zaunring, and Schützinger preceded him), but he is called "the second founder" of this brotherhood, inasmuch as he established it (1533) on such solid spiritual foundations that it survived all the vicissitudes of nearly 450 years of history and is still vitally alive both in the old Hutterite colonies and in the more recent Society of Brothers. When after only two years of Hutter's work in Moravia (1533-1535) the situation there became too dangerous, the brotherhood prevailed upon Hutter to return to Tyrol for greater safety, unaware that thus his situation only became worse.

From Tyrol Hutter sent back to Moravia four epistles (entrusted to loyal brothers who functioned as carriers under most precarious conditions) filled with expressions of pastoral care and concern, full of love and comfort, strengthening the faith of the faithful and admonishing them to continue on their narrow pathway in full awareness of the "raging dragon" of worldly authorities. Hutter was certainly a charismatic leader of unique spiritual qualities, absolutely certain that he was called to be the bishop or shepherd of his flock, and that it was his task to imbue the brotherhood with his unshakable eschatological vision of the "kingdom of God" which was to be promoted among the children of a world which had not yet grasped the true light.

All Hutter's epistles, especially the one published here, breathe

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1 This translation was made by Maureen Burns of the Wheathill Bruderhof in England, one of the colonies of the Society of Brothers. We acknowledge the kind permission of this Society to publish this translation.

strongly the spirit of early Anabaptism, in particular the conviction that conflict of the two "kingdoms" leads unavoidably to suffering, tribulation, and finally to martyrdom. In fact, it cannot be otherwise, and all this suffering is not only no argument against God's immeasurable grace bestowed upon His faithful children but is actually proof that the true believer and disciple is on the right path, since this path will and must always be contradicted by the "world."

This letter, sometimes called Hutter's Fourth Epistle, but actually his eighth and last, is typical of this mood and of his pastoral concern. It conveys a particularly pathetic quality if we realize that it was unknowingly Hutter's last word and testament, written shortly before he, too, was caught by Anabaptist hunters in Klausen, Tyrol, brought to trial in Innsbruck, brutally tortured, and finally burned at the stake in Innsbruck on February 25, 1536, under unbelievably cruel and repulsive circumstances. Thus he proved to his brotherhood the genuineness of his writings, remaining faithful even at the moment of excruciating torment. The letter is in no way "theological"; in doctrinal beliefs Hutter is as orthodox as any Christian could be, and the words of Holy Scripture are to him unquestioned reality, to be lived, not speculated about. What characterizes all his letters and especially this one is the unusual warmth and liveliness of his words. The term "heart" appears more often in the text than any other word, and "heart" means to him the inwardness of his faith, its existential character and spiritual concreteness in obedience to God and in discipleship to Christ.

The letter, like all others, is exceedingly well written. In fact one may safely say that Hutter ranks highest among the many Hutterite epistle writers. We can easily imagine the effect of the reading of such missives aloud before the assembled brotherhood, at that time most likely hiding in the woods or remote valleys of Moravia. It brought about a renewed commitment or pledge by those already in the fold but now perhaps weakened by the terrible persecutions and dangers. In this way a "primitive" or apostolic form of Christianity was carried on in full awareness of lurking dangers and martydom, and yet also in great rejoicing that one was privileged to witness to such glorious faith and was enabled to practice the greatest of all Christian virtues, namely brotherly love, in actual sharing and togetherness.

A realization of the setting of this letter, as partly indicated in its last section, will reveal the tremendous spiritual power behind its words. Hutter was separated from his "children" in Moravia whom he had "borne and planted through the word of God," but he felt

his continuing responsibility for their spiritual well-being and steadfastness. The imagery of the Pauline epistles breaks through time and again. Whoever fights (he writes) like a knight (Ephesians) will receive the crown. But of course, such a fight does not mean any form of external resistance, but rather resistance to sin and temptation, however overwhelming they may be, because only by such resistance does one become a true follower of Christ. It is not his person, he claims, but God's grace and mercy which have enabled him to serve and to comfort his "children," inasmuch as it is God's compassion which has made him their shepherd "without any merit" of his own. He warns his brothers and sisters not to get drowsy while "the dragon rages" (in his famous epistle to the government of Moravia, of the same year, he identifies this "dragon" with King Ferdinand) lest they fall victims to sin and the flesh; only in alertness can the spirit become victorious and lead the faithful to the perfection of God's Kingdom.

This is roughly the contents of the epistle. It contains very little of concrete news, and nothing at all of a speculative nature. It is a cry of a heart in tribulation and sorrow, and yet at the same time also a heart full of joy; it is a unique apostolic document. From the conclusion we learn that it was brought to Moravia by the brother Jeronimus Käls, the schoolmaster of Kufstein, Tyrol. It reached the brotherhood as did all the other epistles of Hutter. But Jeronimus was not to see his homeland again. On his way back he was caught by the authorities, this time in Vienna, and soon thereafter forced to pay the supreme penalty for his faith. After months in prison, where he also wrote several epistles, he was martyred at the stake in the same year as Hutter, on March 31, 1536.

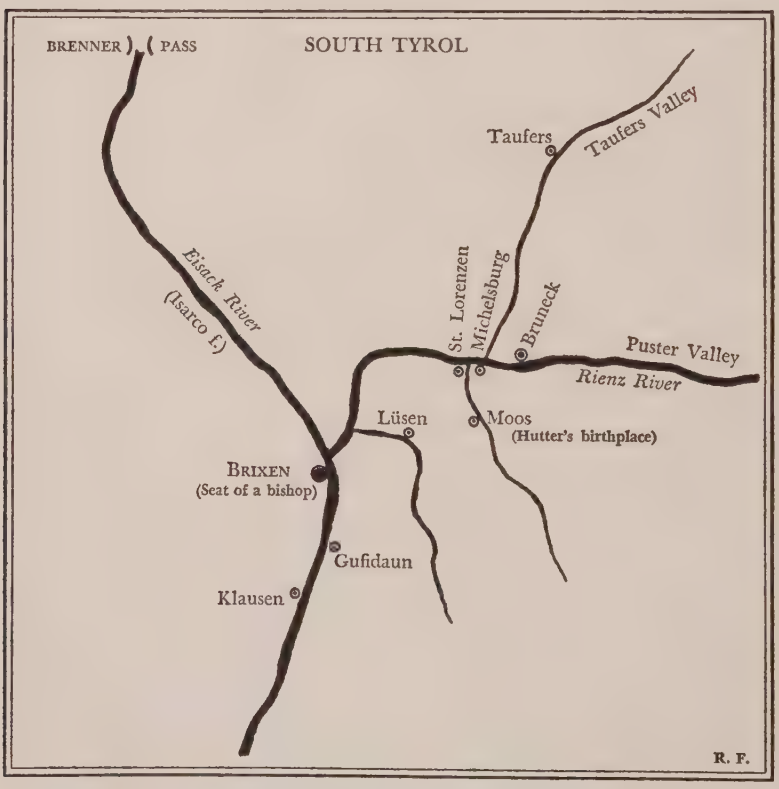
The German text of the epistle has been preserved in numerous Hutterite codices, and has been published twice. Lydia Müller presented it in her *Glaubenszeugnisse*[2] in its original sixteenth century language, calling it "the fourth epistle of Jakob Hutter" according to the heading in the codex of Bratislava which she used. Hans Fischer published the letter correctly as number eight in his *Jakob Huter,*[3] using a copy in the Beck collection in Brno, but presented it in a modernized German version, omitting also all Bible references.

We are much indebted to the Society of Brothers for producing a fine English translation. Of course, the real flavor of the German can not be rendered in another tongue, as the refinement of verbal expression and the overtones are beyond reproduction.

2 Lydia Müller. *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Leipzig, 1938) 150-159.
3 Hans Fischer, *Jakob Huter, Leben, Frömmigkeit, Briefe* (Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas, 1956; Mennonite Historical Series, No. 4) 62-72.

We conclude these brief introductory remarks by presenting a map of the area mentioned in the letter, the area of Hutter's home town and missionary activities. It was the area of the bishopric of Brixen south of the Brenner Pass. Even though the bishop was not under the jurisdiction of King Ferdinand, he nevertheless rivaled him in the hunting of the Anabaptists. When Hutter was caught he was immediately sent to the provincial government in Innsbruck. The Brixen bishopric has its own Anabaptist history. It was here that the first apostle of the Anabaptists in Tyrol, Jörg Blaurock of Chur, was to suffer his martyrdom in 1528. Here Ulrich Stadler, Hans Mändl, and Peter Walpot, outstanding leaders of the movement, were born. Here Offrus Griesinger was active as a missionary around 1535, and here a noblewoman, Agnes von Waldenhofen, turned Anabaptist. Thus this area can be rightfully designated as one of the major cradles of Anabaptism.[4]

4 For all further details see the articles in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* Bruneck, Brixen, Gufidaun, Klausen, Lüsen, Puster Valley, Tyrol, and of course all articles pertaining to persons of this area.



SECTION OF SOUTH TYROL WITH PLACES MENTIONED BY HUTTER

A Holy, Beautiful and Comforting Admonition of Our Dear Brother and Servant of God Jakob Hutter, Who for the Sake of Holy Truth Was Executed at Innsbruck on Friday Before Lent Anno 1536.

This epistle was sent to the Church in Moravia from Tyrol through the brother Jeronimus Käls anno 1535.

Jacob, a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ and a servant of his chosen saints here and there in all lands through the great and unspeakable grace and mercy of God who has called and chosen and fitted me for this in His fathomless mercy; in no wise had I deserved this but only His overflowing goodness and faithfulness perceived my faithfulness and has made me good and worthy with Abraham and his seed forever, and has trusted me and given His godly and eternal word into my heart and mouth, and the heavenly treasure and goodness of His divinity and His holy spirit, which are hidden and remain in the tabernacle and the ark of the eternal invisible God in heaven above, who is lord and king over all kings. He has blessed me with His heavenly blessing and has made His divine word living and active in me and in many others (to whom He let it be preached through me). And He has given testimony to the same through the pouring out and working of the Holy Spirit with all evidence of power, miracles, and signs. And He has appointed me to be a watchman, shepherd, and guardian of His holy people, of His elect, holy Christian Church [Rev. 21], which is the bride and spouse, yes, the dear and blessed consort of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, which He has bought, purified and washed through His precious and holy blood, and has given me many devout, holy and Christian hearts for evermore. In this and for all this together let God the father in heaven's kingdom, the king and creator of all things, be honored and praised; let Him alone be glorified, blessed, and magnified. And from the very bottom of my heart be said praise and thanks to Him in His royal and eternal majesty, from me and from all saints and from all heavenly hosts through Jesus Christ for ever and evermore. Amen.

You saints, chosen and elect, fighters and witnesses of God and of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, my most beloved brothers and sisters, and my longed for chosen children, whom I have borne and planted through God's word, grace and gifts from heaven above; yes with much pain and work and in many great tribulations, wherever they may be, in Moravia and here and there in all parts, hunted and dispersed in distress, in poverty, in tribulation, in anxiety, in need, in much pain and great persecution, and in manifold temptations that you suffer for our Lord's sake; I wish you all from the depth of my heart grace, peace, and eternal mercy from the almighty God, and much love and faith, victory, strength, and self-conquest. And may God in heaven comfort and strengthen you, may He feed and give you to drink, and care for you, both in body and in spirit with heavenly and temporal gifts. May He help and support you, and may you be committed to Him in all eternity through His dear son Jesus Christ. Amen.

Beloved and chosen children of the living God, we have heard and know about your tribulations and persecutions, your distress and trial that you suffer for the Lord's sake. We know this for the greater part, although what has happened and taken place in the meantime we do not know. We consider and reflect on this diligently in our hearts without ceasing. Your tribulation and suffering strike at our hearts; oh, we bear and suffer faithfully with you together, apart from what else we suffer and endure here [in Tyrol] for the Lord's sake. And we think of you constantly towards God and all the saints, calling earnestly in prayer, for you are

grown and planted in our hearts, and are for us a living letter written in our hearts through God's love and spirit which is read constantly at all times.

Beloved ones and elect, sometime ago I sent Brother Christle to you and wrote and told you how matters stand with us here, and comforted you as much as God gave me to do. And now I hope and trust to God that you received that message. Now I would gladly have sent the Brother Hänsel to you soon and with all speed, as you have asked and required, and he would gladly have come, too, with all his heart in godly love that he and we have towards you. But now it cannot be, for he is ill. I can and may also not use him here, in spite of needing him and others too so badly, for the need is great here, too, as you have probably heard.

But now I cannot and may not refrain (because of the godly holy love that I have toward you) to send you in this distress our dear Brother Jeronimus, and will rather suffer a still greater privation in order that your need might be lightened. Oh, would to God in heaven that we might make good your need according to your heart's wish and desire, and that we might do enough to suit our hearts. Oh, that God in His heavenly kingdom would grant that we might offer you the joy and delight we have in you, and that the desire of our hearts might be fulfilled, that we might take you and serve and help you in your need, that we might house and shelter you, yes, feed and give you to drink, and show and bring you love and faithfulness and honor, and that we could and might serve you with heavenly and temporal gifts. What great and heartfelt joy in the Holy Spirit that would be; we wish for no greater joy. Here then is our greatest sorrow, that we are robbed of your presence, and we can and may not do all this for you. How gladly we should suffer poverty, yes, need, tribulation and pain of our flesh, yes, torture, suffering and even death itself, that we might have now fellowship together, and that we might show and bring service, love, faithfulness, and honor to you, for our soul and heart is completely open toward you.

Oh, devout children of the living God, how greatly your need distresses me, my heart is full of compassion for your tribulation and persecution that you suffer for the Lord's sake. But be comforted, you devout Christian hearts, reflect and consider well that all prophets, Christ the Lord, His apostles, and in short all saints from the beginning of the world have suffered the same, yes, all those who loved God the Lord. This has been often and unceasingly proclaimed to you, that is that this will be done to all the saints and elect, to all lovers of the divine truth, until the Day of Judgment, as the Holy Scriptures testify enough and in many passages. Reflect and consider also that I have often and many times told and showed you this, when I was still with you, before ever this happened to us. For some did not want to recognize His goodness, love and mercy; so God had to give this recognition to them through tribulation and suffering. Some wanted to be thankless towards the Lord, many of whom have perished and have been confounded. But to us and to all those who love and fear Him, God will reveal and give to know the riches of His mercy and of His fatherly will through such affliction and tribulation, in order that we do not forget Him or become thankless towards Him, also that we do not become drowsy or careless in God's service, so that sin or our flesh does not rule or get the upper hand in us, and that we may not defile ourselves with the world and with earthly creatures or take pleasure and lose ourselves in these things, but that our flesh should be crucified and killed with all its lusts and desires, and that our inward man might grow and increase, so that God and His holy Spirit might rule,

lead, guide, and point us in all truth and righteousness. Also that we might know God and His mercy more fully, and glorify, honor and praise Him, and serve Him with fear and trembling, that we might grow and flourish in love and faith, in all godliness, in all truth and righteousness to the perfection that God gives and has promised to His own. So that we might not be dry and fruitless trees, and not be burned with the fire of hell, but that we might be a good, green olive tree of the Lord, to bring Him good fruits, that we might not waste unprofitably the time that we still have to live, but that we might serve God and be obedient to His saints our life-long, and no more do that which our flesh wills and has a liking for.

Therefore the Lord chastises us as His dear children, for Peter writes that he who suffers in the flesh shall cease from sinning, so that for the time that he still has to live in the flesh he shall no longer serve the world and his own flesh, and no longer live in sin, and so forth. But that he should live for God and use his life here on this pilgrimage to God's honor and praise. Therefore God makes us free and purifies us from the world and from all creatures through tribulation, that we might turn away our hearts from this, and that with our whole heart we might set our trust and hope in the Lord alone, that we might confide and commit ourselves to Him altogether, and that our delight and joy should be only in the Lord, and in His word, in His eternal law, and that we might walk in all this day and night, loving God the almighty and His children from the very depth of our hearts, with all our strength and all our being, and that we might have our treasure only in heaven.

For this reason then all this happens to us out of love and great mercy of the almighty God, that we might not be damned [I Cor. 11] with the world, but might have joy indescribable in the future eternal life. Otherwise our flesh would rule us, would gain the upper hand, and break forth so that we would sin. Now the wages of sin is eternal death [Rom. 6]. For those that are carnal cannot please God; those that are carnal and sinful shall not inherit God's kingdom as the Holy Scripture says [Gal. 5]. Wounds and blows for the body drive away evil [Prov. 20], that is, all that is sin and unrighteousness. This is driven off through the cross of Jesus Christ, which is the rod of the Lord. Therefore, be comforted, you beloved and elect, for all this is a sure sign and proof that you are dear and well-pleasing to God, and that God will also give eternal life, eternal rest, peace, joy, and eternal glory with all the elect saints and with the heavenly hosts. May God the father help you and us to this through His most beloved Son, to whom be praise and honor for ever and eternally. Amen.

Oh, beloved and chosen children of the living God, how terribly and mightily enough this tribulation and anxiety was mirrored and shown for a long time in my heart through God's grace and Spirit. Therefore have I unceasingly shown it to you day and night, pointed out to you and taught you to bring your hearts to this, to prepare yourselves and surrender yourselves, and resign yourselves to tribulation and trial. Also how you should stand in all this, how you should believe and trust in God the Lord, and not let yourselves be frightened away from God, from His truth and from His holy church. But you shall remain constant in all manner of tribulation unto your end. For whoever endures to the end shall be saved, says the Lord [Mt. 24]. Also as you strive in knightly fashion for the truth, so shall God the Lord strive for you; and I have shown how you shall be devout, righteous, patient and faithful to God and to all His saints in all things. I have also told you and shown you enough that you

should hear and grasp the divine word with the utmost diligence, and write it into your hearts. For it is probable that we shall not be with you at all times and able to speak with you, for God will perhaps take us from you whether it will be through prison, tribulation or death, whatever God ordains. May you have something to draw upon in the time of need.

You should gather in when it is summer, so that in the extremely cold and dangerous time of winter you will have something to draw upon, yes, that you are clad and prepared and can draw out the treasure of your hearts, that which you have heard and gathered in and received of God. O how often and at great length have I told and shown you this. Would to God that you have richly understood and grasped it. For you have heard often and enough the word of divine truth, many fine and mighty examples of saints, of what God has worked and done with them. Well for him who has heard it and has written it in his heart.

You have also heard and understood that the Lord has for a long time led you during the day as a [pillar of] cloud, that is through His ministers and preachers. But now the night shall come, when one cannot and may not see the cloud any more, and the Lord will no longer go before us in the cloud. But God shall go before those who are His in a pillar of fire. That is through the light and glow of His Holy Spirit and through God's word, which word and Spirit are in all devout Christian hearts, that through this and through a true Christian, well-founded faith [His children] be ruled, instructed, taught and led in all truth. That is the pillar of fire in our hearts. Well for him whose light lightens and shines, he shall neither fall by night nor be confounded, as the Scripture testifies. The righteous man shall live his faith and shall never more be confounded.

So think now, dear brothers and sisters, consider well and take to heart, reflect and weigh up all this in your hearts. For the time and everything that has been proclaimed to you in the name of the Lord has already come. Oh well for the man who has heard the word of God and has taken it into his heart, and whose heart is full of love and faith, of great patience, righteousness, truth, fear of God, and of His Holy Spirit; he shall stay steadfast indeed in this need. So see to it now, dear brothers and sisters, that although I or other devout servants of God may no longer speak with you by word of mouth in this world, and may no more see you with our eyes in this time, that you nevertheless remain steadfast and believe and trust firmly in your hearts in God the Lord.

Be diligent to do His will and keep His commandments. Confess the Lord with words, with works, and by a Christian holy life. Let your light so lighten and shine among men, and let your good works be seen and revealed, that God the Father might be glorified through you. In the same way shall Christ the Lord also confess you before God, His heavenly father, and before the angels in heaven, yes, as His sons and daughters, as His brothers and sisters, and as coheirs in His glory. Love God and His holy word and people—so shall you also be loved by God the Lord and by His dear Son and by all saints. Serve God the Lord and His children with all your heart faithfully and diligently in all things; so shall the angels in heaven serve you. Nevermore forget the Lord and His divine word and His holy people—so shall God the Lord nevermore forget you. Remain in God and in His word, in His truth and in the holy fellowship of His elect—so shall God the Lord remain with and in you eternally and will not forget you. Bear in mind and consider what we have taught you through God's gift and grace with His word and through His Holy Spirit. Act all of you diligently in accordance with it. For we

have not presented and preached fables and tales and human inventions to you, but the divine eternal truth, that which is pure, clear, and well-founded, that which is yea and amen before God and before all saints, and what we in the truth know and have heard and received from the living God; which also is sealed and testified enough with Holy Scripture and with much holy blood, and which also we desire to testify with our blood and with godly truth through the help, strength, and grace of God. This is the right way and the door into the sheepfold, the true and unfeigned foundation and truth, upon which all the prophets and apostles have built as we have pointed out and shown to you. Let yourselves not be taught or counselled otherwise. For a thief comes for nothing but to steal, rob, and destroy. So they are all thieves and murderers before God, as Christ says. And let him that will instruct and teach otherwise be cursed and damned, as Paul says in his teachings. For we have neither lived in error nor wavered, and do not waver here and there like a reed that is moved in the wind; and through the help of God we shall not be moved, neither by tribulation nor temptation nor trial. And no man, no torture or pain, no power, no hunger or thirst, no tribulation or temptation, no creature or anything that one can speak or name, shall confuse or injure us to turn away from God and from His divine truth, in which we walk and which we preach. For the word we speak and preach is well-founded and sealed by God and by all His saints with miracles and with powerful signs, as is written above. Neither do we bring something new to your ears, for we are not fickle, inconstant, or light-minded, that today we speak one thing and tomorrow something else, as light-minded and false teachers do. But we are firm and immovable in the divine truth for evermore, let it cost us what it may, and however cruel the consequences may seem. And what we have spoken from the beginning and preached, we preach still untiringly and unashamedly. This should rightly make you certain and brave, manly, and well-secured in the Lord. Oh, would to God, you devout Christian hearts, that I could be only one day or a few hours with you, that I could let my voice be heard among you and might rejoice, quicken, and satisfy myself in the Lord with you. But God has not appointed things thus, which we shall bear and accept with sorrow and with great patience.

But be comforted, ye elect of the Lord, for the time of your redemption is at hand. Lift up your heads to God the Lord in heaven, and wait in meekness, in great longsuffering, in righteousness and truth, in godly love, and in strong faith and trust, for your shepherd and king to come from heaven. For He will soon come, He that is to come in the clouds of heaven with great power and glory, the king and comforter of Israel, and He shall save, redeem and liberate those that are His, and shall set upon their heads a glorious crown that shall nevermore fade. But before this there shall be struggle and strife. Whoever fights as a true knight and overcomes, yes, conquers through God's Spirit, shall be crowned and shall gain the victory and the prize, and shall receive peace and joy, eternal rest and glory with all the elect and all the heavenly hosts. He shall be with God the father and with His dear son, and with the saints for evermore in the covenant of eternal life. May God the father help us to that through Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and honor for ever and eternally, Amen.

Oh, beloved and elect children of the living God, I rejoice and comfort myself with the assurance of God which He has promised and given to us that we shall see and behold Him in His holy temple, that our suffering and misery shall one time come completely to an end, that our weep-

ing and wailing shall cease, and that we shall behold and embrace one another with great and unspeakable joy, etc. And no one shall hurt or injure us any more, for all tribulations and suffering shall pass away. For the veil of the temple shall be rent through the power of the Lord, that is, all earthly and carnal pomp and power. But the devout shall reign and rule, and their mouth shall be full of laughter, as the Lord says, and they shall rejoice in the Lord, and they shall sing songs of praise together for evermore. May God grant you through His mercy that we might await His grace and His eternal perfect compassion. So for our sorrow and distress joy shall be given to us a thousandfold.

Here in this world we have no rest and no continuing city but tribulation, anxiety, distress, and pain. But be comforted, for Christ has overcome the world, and will give also you and us grace and victory, that we also may courageously overcome it. For our sakes He has overcome, that the same victory might be given to you, to us, and to all who fear God and love Him with all their heart and keep His commandments. For the right, true Christian faith is the victory that overcomes the world. Would to God in heaven that you might be well comforted and endowed by God the heavenly father in all your tribulations. Oh, that it were God's will that I might be with you and you with me. How greatly and deeply my heart longs for you; it burns with great desire to be with you in the tribulation, yes, in great torture and pain; I would a thousand times rather be with you than be with the ungodly in their pleasure and luxury, etc. Now I comfort myself in the Lord that if it cannot and may not be now, we shall truly be together in the future and everlasting life.

Oh beloved and elect children of God, my heart, soul, and spirit shall be with you at all times, and you with me, and God with all of us, and we all with God, for evermore. Be therewith faithfully commended to God the Lord in heaven, and to the faithful shepherd Jesus Christ, beneath His powerful care and protection. May He comfort and strengthen you, may He feed and give you to drink in body and in soul with heavenly and temporal gifts according to His will and pleasure, and the richness of His great mercy, and be commended to Him in all things for evermore. Amen.

Further, beloved and elect brothers and sisters, my dear children, I let you know again how things are here with us, namely as follows: we live and walk in love and faith, in peace and unity of the Holy Spirit. We have also great tribulation inwardly in our hearts for your sake, and also otherwise great and heavy persecution outwardly from the ungodly tyrants. The cruel, raging dragon has opened wide its jaws and throat and wills to swallow up the woman that is clad with the sun, which is the bride and the church of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Soon after the meeting of the church, the first day, one of our dear brothers was imprisoned in Taufers. Soon after he had got home from the meeting of the church, the judge of Brixen rode into Lüsen and called together men, women, and children, everyone that could possibly walk, and read to them a cruel mandate and commanded them that no one should house or shelter us. Whoever should do so would be more cruelly punished than ever before and his house would be burned to the ground. For our cause was taking root and gaining ground. And the devilish lord of Brixen would not suffer this but wanted to exterminate it. This lord came home recently and offended the people with many words and forbade them to do what was good and right, and commanded them to do what was evil and wrong, etc. The devout were well comforted in heart though, and heeded not his offense and threats, but served God and

were diligent to do His will. The judge wanted to wait awhile to see whether they would be frightened and go into their accursed idolatrous temple, and he would gladly have ignored them. But our betrayers gave him no rest; for the dear brothers and sisters were known to all men in the whole valley and to many others besides in the neighborhood. When the judge saw that his commandment counted for nothing among the devout, he came up and took of us five or six brothers and sisters and led them captive to Brixen. The Lord shielded the others this time, but just now at this hour another message has reached us through an ungodly man. He has again taken five captives from Lüsen to Brixen, but we know nothing more definite yet. It is to be feared though. What they will do with them and how they are, here and there, where they are imprisoned we do not know this time, but God knows. I have hurriedly sent brothers into Lüsen and all around to visit the beloved brothers and sisters, and to see how things are in all respects. They have not yet returned so that I do not know definitely how matters stand everywhere. But one can well imagine and think that they are all hunted and driven out, and are everywhere in great danger.

We have heard nothing more about the captives than all uprightness and devoutness. God may comfort them and strengthen them from heaven above with His word and His Holy Spirit, and keep them in His name and His divine truth right to their end, and support them through Jesus Christ. May He help and aid them through His great mercy. Amen.

What else there is to say and what is going on everywhere among us our dear brother Jeronimus will tell and inform you by word of mouth, for he knows everything just as well as I at present, he knows what there is to be told and said concerning this. He will be our living letter to you whom you may ask and hear. Above all, we all wait for the Lord with great patience.

Last of all and in conclusion, we ask you for the sake of God's mercy to pray unceasingly to God for us with earnestness and diligence as we do for you, and as we know also that you are doing for us. But be not negligent in this but fuller, and the longer the more zealous, for there is truly need of it. But I know that God will provide ways and means for His own people according to His promise and great mercy. God be with us and with you, and comfort all grieved Christian devout hearts with the comfort of His Holy Spirit through Jesus Christ, here and there for ever and evermore, Amen.

All children of God with us here, the Holy Christian Church, greet you most faithfully from the very depth of their hearts, in godly love and peace, each and everyone, many thousand times. And I, Jakob Hutter, your minister and servant, your brother and companion in the suffering of Christ, I greet you all together, each and everyone, all devout Christian ministers together with all saints, many thousand times, in godly, burning, brotherly love, with a peaceful heart and with the holy kiss of our Lord Jesus Christ. God in heaven, the father of all grace and mercy, greet and bless you from heaven above with His gracious comfort and Spirit through Jesus Christ, ever and eternally. Amen.

Beloved and elect in the Lord, our body, soul and spirit is all the Lord's; so give yourselves wholly, and be comforted in the Lord. God keep us in His love and in the covenant of His peace for evermore.

Sent from the county of Tyrol through the Brother Jeronimus. By me, Jakob, your brother and companion in the kingdom, suffering and the patience of Christ.

DOCUMENTS ON THE DANIEL BRENNEMAN DIVISION

I

Daniel Brenneman's Account of the Schism Occurring in the Mennonite Church in Elkhart County, Indiana

TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY J. C. WENGER*

The following account of the events which led up to the expulsion of Preacher Daniel Brenneman in 1874 was writen by Brenneman himself more than thirty years after the events described. It was probably written largely or altogether from memory, although the years described were undoubtedly deeply meaningful to the writer and hence well-remembered. Unfortunately, three pages of the original document have been lost. Brenneman wrote this account for C. Henry Smith, likely soon after 1905, and certainly in time for Smith to utilize it in the preparation of his book *The Mennonites of America,* Goshen, Indiana, 1909. The footnotes were added by myself. I also added a few punctuation marks, such as the colon after Smith on the first line, the exclamation point on the second line, and the single quotation marks for S. Sherk's exclamation in footnote 17.

Dear Brother Smith:

God abundantly Bless Thee!

In the fear of God, at your request, I will endeavor to give you at least an outline of events, facts, and occurrences relative of former difficulties in the church here in Indiana. With only the glory of God and the general good of His noble cause in view as a motive of so doing; since to me there are unpleasant memories connected with the relating of some of these bygone occurrences: yet, that coming generations may have the benefit of knowing the truth in the matter I yield a compliance with your solicitation to write you of such things as I distinctly remember them to have transpired.

I was born near Bremen, Fairfield Co., Ohio, June 8th, 1834. At the age of about 22 years I was brought under deep conviction of my own sins, made confession of the same before God, realizing unmistakenly[1] His pardoning love, grace, and mercy upon my soul. Yielded myself to His service, united with the church of my fathers, that of my own choice, the Mennonites. Was married to Susanna Keagy;[2] ordained to the ministry; which all occurred in less than one year's time. Here I labored in the ministry as God gave liberty, among the church and people where I was born and reared, until the year 1864 when with my family I removed to Elkhart Co., Indiana. Here I hopefully and with confidence entered the work of the Lord, feeling assured that the Lord had thus led, not knowing however "the things that should befall me" here. I with cheerfulness of heart and peaceful mind went forth in the discharge of duty as it was made clear to me. With a heart yearning for the salvation of precious souls, felt ready to spend and be spent in the work of Him who had evidently called me into His service. In our former home in Ohio we were accustomed to hold our religious services in both the German and English languages as necessity seemed to demand, and were blessed with

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The original is in the possession of Daniel Brenneman's granddaughter, Professor Naomi Brenneman, Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio.

1 Brenneman means "unmistakably."

2 Susanna Keagy (1839-1908), whom he married on March 22, 1857, bore Daniel Brenneman ten children. Following her death Brenneman married Ardella Mae Troyer (1879-) on April 28, 1910; she is still living.

the advantages, as we thought, of fairly good singing, and the thought of any one opposing or finding fault therewith never entered our minds until we came to Indiana. Here it seemed to be otherwise, and the services were to be held exclusively in the German language, and only one part to be allowed to be used in singing,[3] which to me at least seemed very absurd and unreasonable, and hence thought it not necessary to pay much attention to it, as I had always from my youth been a great lover of music, and especially good singing in church. It seemed to be very difficult and withall quite uncalled for, for me to refrain from using the strong bass voice[4] which God had given me, to good advantage in rendering our singing more attractive and edifying, and as I surely thought would add greatly to the harmony and good effect of those dear sacred songs. This however was about all, if not a little more, than could be borne of one, when fully sized up by some as an intruder. In connection with all this there began to be frequent calls for English preaching at funerals and upon other occasions, to which I could not otherwise than consider it my duty to respond. And thus again incurring the displeasure of those I had thought were my brethren, whose sympathy, prayers, and cooperation I hoped to share in carrying on the work of the Master. Instead of this, however, it frequently occurred that as I began to speak in English a number of brethren (as I had thought them to be) would gather up their hats and leave the church. This I felt would wield a very baneful influence, and to avoid further trouble and confusion on this line, suggested that those desiring to have English preaching should announce special appointments at their school houses or wherever it might be suitable, and I would come and preach the Word to them. This suggestion was quite readily accepted, and appointments announced at different places which I was glad to go and fill as the Lord helped me. And the Lord indeed seemed to come very night and blessed our souls abundantly, as you know how He does His sincere worshipers, and many of us thought the meetings were especially good. This however, sad to say, could not be longer tolerated but must at once be crushed by the Bishop and his adherents, saying as they did, that it savored too much of protracted meetings.[5] And so we, with sad and bleeding hearts, seemed at the time to know no better than to be submissive and to yield in humble subordination to the crushing ordeal. God forgive, if necessary, our lack of stamina and manhood!

Thus time went on and we (who were as considered as being of "the baser sort") did the best we could or thought we knew to do under the circumstances. The time came, however, when it was rumored that the Bishop (Wisler) and another brother[6] were at variance with each other, and hence it was decided that the deacons should make an investigation of the matter and report to the church; which they did, and reported that they found the difficulty existing, and that they had insisted on Wisler to go to this offended brother, which he refused to do, saying that he knew it would do no good. And so counsel was held, and a committee

3 Brenneman is alluding to the views of Bishop Jacob Wisler (1808-1889), the man who founded the Wisler Mennonite group in 1872. Bishop Abraham Rohrer (1788-1878) of Medina County, Ohio, had ordained Wisler as bishop in 1851, following the death of the first Mennonite bishop in Indiana, Martin Hoover (*c.* 1760-1850).

4 Those who remember Daniel Brenneman say that his singing voice was strong and rather rough.

5 Series of evangelistic meetings, then called protracted meetings, came into the (Old) Mennonite Church largely after 1880. Such meetings were looked upon with suspicion by many leaders because of the emotional excesses which characterized them in a number of Christian bodies in that era.

6 Wisler was accused of speaking unkindly to a brother named John Culp.

appointed to visit him. The committee however failed to make any impression on his mind. Thus a committee of Bishops from Pa., Ohio, Va., and Canada was called to make a final investigation of the matter.[7] The decision of this committee was that he [Wisler] was guilty and would be asked to make a penitent confession. In compliance with this demand of the bishops he arose before an assembly of some forty or more preachers and deacons, with many others present, to make his confession, but unfortunately justified himself in about everything he had done, and cast the reflection on those who had dealt with him; but after it all, said he would confess. Whereupon it was now requested that those satisfied with his confession should give him their hand. So while this was going on, my conscience in language unmistakable impressed me that I dare not do this, and knowing of no better way to do, I went for the door of the church and went out. I at once was followed out by a number of well-meaning brethren and asked whether I could not forgive him, and he himself [Wisler] came and offered me his hand saying, Can't you forgive me? When I said: Wisler, this thing is not between you and me. These men have been called to investigate the matter, and they say you are guilty and must confess your wrong, but now you justify yourself in the whole matter;—and referred him to the Ninevites of whom Jesus said, "they repented," and then ceased to justify themselves. Upon this the bishops there and then divested him of his office as bishop or minister of the Gospel.[8]

Now as the charge is made in the Hartzler and Kauffman Mennonite history[9] that I after this sad experience became vain and exalted, and overestimated my influence in the church, I wish to say here that I cannot accept the charge. God knows my heart, and as I know myself, there has been no ambition in my heart for superiority over any one, to the extent that I would barter my soul or forfeit my rightful claim as a child of God and humble subject of the Kingdom of heaven. Though I should be misunderstood by all men, God is my witness that through all the unpleasant affairs through which I have been called to pass, my desires have surely been to deal justly and righteously before God and men. Allow me here to ask, How in the case just referred to above could I have done differently and cleared myself of responsibility before God? After this, for a time things seemed to go smoothly.[10]

Finally however, it was rumored that in Canada a revival had broken out amongst our Mennonite people,[11] and the matter by some was looked upon with suspicion and doubt as to "whereunto this might grow." And when it became apparent that the matter must be met and dealt with here in Indiana, Brother J. Krupp[12] and I concluded to go over and be convinced as to the right or wrong in the movement. Accordingly we went; and for my part can truly say that my earnest prayer was to be led to see things and act according to God's will. Arriving there among the brethren we found the revival still in progress with unabated interest.

7 The committee convened in Elkhart County, Indiana, in October 1867. See the *MQR*, XXXIII (April 1959), 118, 119.

8 Wisler was "silenced" on October 11, 1867. His ministry was restored later.

9 J. S. Hartzler and Daniel Kauffman, *Mennonite Church History* (Scottdale, Pa.) 343.

10 There was a period of comparative quiet in the Elkhart County Mennonite Church after Wisler was silenced. Funk and Brenneman felt free to move ahead in the work of the church.

11 The leader in this revival was Preacher Solomon Eby (1834-1931) of Port Elgin. Eby claimed that he was converted in 1869. See L. J. Burkholder, *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario* (Markham, Ont., 1935), 190, 287.

12 John Krupp (1840-1911) was a minister in the Pleasant Hill Mennonite Church, south of Bronson, Branch County, Michigan. The address of the church was usually given as Burr Oak in the days of Brenneman. The trip to Canada was made in 1873.

The revival had its origin as a result of one of their ministers, S. Eby, being happily converted, who according to his own testimony had been endeavoring to preach for thirteen years without ever having experienced a change of heart himself.

And now, having experienced this new life in Christ Jesus, he with all the energy of his newborn soul, began to preach to the people as never before this, to him, wonderful salvation and great deliverance which he had found through repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, from the bondage and burden under which he had labored for so many years of seemingly fruitless effort,—which created no little stir and interest among the church people, as well as others throughout the community. In connection with the regular preaching service, prayer and testimony meetings were held and attended with much interest on the one hand, and the most stringent opposition on the other. Amongst the many coming under conviction of sin were quite a number of church members who confessed that they too had never met with a change of heart, nor had found peace with God, and thus began to cry mightily to God for pardon, and were also blessedly saved. Here we were brought face to face with the matter of which we had only heard different opinions expressed. And now who were we that we should dare to lay our hands on or seek to repress the work thus going on, resulting in many clear and definite testimonies of pardoning grace and mercy? Much rather were we impelled by the same Spirit of unity to "rejoice with them that do rejoice" and glorify God for the wonderful things which we had seen and heard.

Returning to our homes in Indiana we as a natural consequence were strictly interrogated and technically scrutinised in reference to matters and things as we had found them in Canada; and to be true men we did not dare to feel one way and express ourselves in another. And whilst I felt a little more reserved in expressing my convictions in reference to the matter, lest it might be premature, having many things to say I feared lest the people "might not all be able to bear them now." Brother Krupp however, felt seemingly, that these things were too good to refrain from telling them, and hence began to blaze abroad the matter in such glowing terms as to awaken in some quite suspicious thoughts about him, and thus for the time being incurred the greater displeasure on the part of the more conservative members of the church. And now, seeing as I did, that the time to take a decided stand one way or the other, was evidently near at hand, I told my wife that I had decided to go a second time to Canada to prove the thing a little more closely as to how it stood by this time, as I did not want to be misled under any consideration.

Then I went and found as before the same convincing evidences that God was in the movement, and that I dare not lay the least thing in the way to hinder it, or even try to change its course. Souls were still being saved, and quite a number had already been baptized by the bishop, and now there were some thirty applicants for baptism. And so one of the bishops was notified to come and administer the rite of baptism. When he sent back word that if they would give up their prayer and testimony meetings, upon these conditions he would be at their service. The matter was left to the converts to decide as to whether they would consent to his conditions or not. When they replied, How can we?—these have been the means through which we have been brought to where we are, and how can we thus agree to set them aside? Thus we felt that He who had

called us to preach, authorized us to baptize, and at their request consented to their wishes and baptized them.[13]

On my return home again, I was at once informed that the bishops Beidler[14] and Christophel[15] had expelled Bro. Krupp.[16] I went to one of the bishops and said, I hear you have expelled Bro. Krupp; to which he assented. I asked what he had done to merit such treatment? His answer was that I should come to the Yellow Creek church on such a day and they would tell me. On the day appointed I went. When the bishops told before the assembly that they had expelled Bro. Krupp, and gave as their reasons that he advocated protracted, prayer, and testimony meetings; and these things being contrary to the rules of the church: we expelled him. And now the question was, Are you all satisfied? To this the ministers and deacons present expressed themselves as being satisfied. When all had thus approved their proceedings I simply arose and said, Brethren, to be honest before God, if our people do nothing worse than go get together to sing and pray and read God's Word, thus seeking to edify each other: that this should give us occasion or authority to expel them from church fellowship,—I cannot see it that way. To this they made no reply, but dismissed the meeting without further ceremony; and we all went to our homes.

After this I was several times visited by committees who insisted that I should submit to the requisites of the church (which I fain would have done), but how could I in the light of God's sacred Word which granted permission that many of the brethren & sisters might come together for prayer in the behalf of Peter in prison, and whose prayers were heard and answered? And again this same Word declares, "Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord." Then how could I say these things are wrong, and not to be tolerated, when I had consecrated my life to God, and vowed to be faithful and true to Him?

After this I was informed that I too was expelled from the church[17] for three reasons—

13 Brenneman acted somewhat contrary to the polity of the Mennonite Church in baptizing these converts, for Mennonite preachers normally baptized only in cases of emergency, when, for example, a bishop could not be reached to baptize a convert who was seriously ill.

14 Jacob A. Beutler (1833-1886) was ordained preacher at the Holdeman Church on March 19, 1868, and bishop at the Yellow Creek Church on Oct. 18, 1872.

15 John M. Christophel (1819-1886) was ordained preacher at Yellow Creek, apparently on May 31, 1862, and bishop at the same place on October 18, 1872. John M. Brenneman of Elida, Ohio, ordained Beutler and Christophel as co-bishops in the same service, ten months after the expulsion of Jacob Wisler.

16 Krupp was excommunicated about December 1873. John F. Funk wrote in his diary on January 6, 1874: "Brother Daniel [Brenneman] Henry [Brenneman], and Hunsberger went to Burr Oak to see Krupp who was, a few weeks ago, excommunicated from Church for disobedience of rules."

17 The expulsion occurred on April 25, 1874. (See the copy of the action at the end of this account.) Brenneman's attitudes were a matter of deep concern to Funk for many months prior to this event. On the evening of September 22, 1873, Funk recorded in his diary that he "had a conversation" with Brother Daniel. The morning of November 20 he "went to D. Brennemans, where remained until afternoon." On January 10, 1874, a meeting was held at Yellow Creek to review the Krupp case. Funk states in his diary for January 11, 1874, that Krupp favored prayer meetings and "experience meetings," also that he advocated that women should have the right to speak, "a thing which is not at all customary in our church at this time,—though recently, that is, within a few years, it was introduced in Canada." Funk added that Krupp "persists in carrying this matter forward and adhering to his views. He also has some backing among the members here." In February and March 1874, two Michigan ministers, John Krupp and [Samuel] Sherk, held meetings at the Jones Schoolhouse, on the southwest corner of Section 5 of Harrison Township, Elkhart County, that is, on the Bashor Chapel Road one mile east of what is now Highway 19. (This schoolhouse is two miles west of the Yellow Creek meetinghouse and three miles north.) On February 15, 1874, Funk reported in his diary that "great excitement" prevailed because of the protracted meetings of Krupp and Sherk. On March 7 Funk again wrote: "The protracted meeting at Jones continues and much excitement prevails throughout the county. On Wed. 10 were baptized, some in the water, some under the water forward, some under

First, for leaving the church and supporting an excommunicated minister.

This would sound badly, only as we consider that this minister (Bro. Krupp) was not proven to be guilty of any criminal act[18] for which he ought to be so dealt with, neither a violator of God's Word.

Second, for teaching and preaching unscriptural customs.[19]

This charge I cannot acknowledge until it is proven to me wherein I did this.

Third, for causing dissensions and working disorderly[20] at home and abroad.

Of this charge I also feel clear and innocent before God, until I am told and made sensible of what I did to merit such censure.

I wish to say here that it would seem that I was a born Mennonite, and ever cherished for the church a deep interest for its welfare, and even after being expelled still felt a deep sympathy and due respect for the church. And why should I not, since many of my near relatives are still members of the same?[21] . . . [Two pages missing.]

[As to the charge that I caused dissensions and was disorderly I cannot admit ever having done anything of the sort. I do remember attending one of their meetings at Wakarusa][22] and it so happened that none of their preachers were present, when one of their members arose and said, "It seems we are disappointed in that none of our preachers are with us. I see that Brenneman is here, but since he has left us, and is causing us trouble, and preaching false doctrine, so that I do not think he ought to preach." Upon which I arose and asked whether I might be allowed to answer for myself as to the charges here brought against me. When he replied that he thought I had better not, and so in compliance with his wishes I sat down without saying another word. If this can be considered as "working disorderly" on my part then I must confess that I yet need

the water backward. Meetings were continued during the week. Several prayer meetings were held in which considerable disorder prevailed. And Daniel Brenneman also takes part with them and seems to justify their course. We fear Daniel will so far allow himself to be misled as to leave the church. May God grant us grace to be faithful and remain true to the doctrines of our Faith." On March 10, 1874, Funk recorded in his diary: "Bro. [Henry] Shaum [1826-1892, a preacher in the Olive Congregation] and I went to see Daniel Brenneman and to try to persuade him to leave his wild course and return to the Church. Accomplished nothing. Felt sorry. Two Canadian brethren there." Four days later Funk wrote: "Daniel Brenneman started away to Penna. (stopping over Sunday at Burr Oak) against the wishes of his brethren. He seems very determined and unyielding. Hope he may still see the error of his ways." On March 15, 1874, Funk commented that in the recent prayer meetings "much ado was made, loud crying and weeping, howling that could be heard a long distance —half a mile. Sitting or lying around on the floor, and making great confusion, shouting, jumping, and so on. The minister S. Sherk said, 'There comes the Lord! Catch him quick.' Folly! When the Lord comes again He shall come in judgement. Some five or six families of the old church have been misled into these errors, and ten have been baptized,—new converts. We shall see what will come of it."

On Saturday, April 25, 1874, Funk wrote: "Went to Yellow Creek to Conference where Daniel Brenneman's conduct was considered, and in view of his disobedient actions he was disowned for disorderly conduct, and causing offence and dissension."

18 Krupp was excommunicated not for a criminal act, but for embarking on a course which seemed unbalanced and dangerous to his brethren, and for refusing to accept counsel from them.

19 These customs related to the full freedom given to women in the services of the church, a freedom which Brenneman's fellow ministers felt was in violation of the New Testament Scriptures on women remaining silent in the church.

20 "Working disorderly" does not refer to unbecoming conduct morally but to the emotional excesses which prevailed in the protracted and prayer meetings which Brenneman was attending and defending.

21 Daniel Brenneman was a brother of the great leader, John M. Brenneman; of George Brenneman (1821-1889), a bishop in Putnam County, Ohio; and of Deacon Henry Brenneman (1831-87) of Elkhart.

22 Material in brackets supplied on the basis of a similar account which is printed in Brenneman's periodical, the *Gospel Banner* (February 23, 1911, p. 119).

instructions as to how I must conduct myself hereafter should I ever be placed under similar circumstances.

Having referred to the Mennonite History written by Hartzler and Kauffman I would not be understood as unduly censoring them for what appears therein concerning me, nor as doubting their honesty. Yet I consider it due to myself, as well as to the Cause of our common Master, to say that as a matter of fact in many instances the truth has not been conveyed to their minds; and my motives have been misjudged and greatly misunderstood.[23]

Why is it that these things should be, and as it would seem, have unavoidably transpired, might occur to our finite minds to be a profound mystery, only as we consider that God's ways and dealings with His children are frequently shrouded in mystery, and the Saviour's words almost unperceptably verified, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." Thus it appears quite evident that, as the poet expresses it, " 'Tis best to let Him have His way with thee." At all events, though by many it was considered that the course pursued by us,[24] or the way we were led to do in the emergency, would be disastrous to us, as well as the church. Yet after all it was admitted by one of their own Mennonite ministers to one of our deacons, that our movement proved to be a means to stimulate them as a church to more zeal and active effort in the Cause of Christ in the behalf of the salvation of precious souls.

It has been in a measure painful to me in writing this defense of the truth, to be necessitated to mention the names of those who have gone to their long home. Yet in giving a statement of facts I do not wish to assume the position of casting needless reflections upon the character of any one, but would much rather put the most lenient construction possible upon the face of these bygone events. I feel much rather to cast the mantle of charity over the whole matter as far as I am personally concerned. As the name of Bishop Wisler needs to be mentioned in order to bring out a clear conception of the facts in the case, allow me here to say in his behalf that in the after-years of his life, when difficulties between us were no longer called for on account of our different convictions of Christian obligation (our church relationship having been severed) there was no longer a spirit of antagonism manifested on his part toward me.

We frequently met each other on the streets of Goshen, and very seldom if ever did he allow such opportunity to pass without shaking hands, bidding the time of day, and courteously inquiring as to our welfare. Thus was indicated that one could yet be on good terms as friends, though differing in sentiment and understanding of the Scriptures. And if he and I shall sometime meet on the beautiful golden streets of the New Jerusalem, we can again shake hands and forever be mutually gratified and see eye to eye more clearly.

After being expelled from church fellowship we were left as sheep outside the sheepfold with the door seemingly relentlessly fastened against

23 It would appear that Brenneman justly objects to Hartzler and Kauffman reporting that he received "more honor than he was able to bear," and that he overestimated his influence in the church (p. 343).

24 After his expulsion Brenneman organized his followers into a church which he named the Reformed Mennonites. Jasper A. Huffman gives an objective account of Brenneman's activities prior to, during, and after his expulsion in his *History of The Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church* (New Carlisle, Ohio, 1920), 41-55. As a result of a series of mergers with other Mennonite schismatic groups the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church was formed. Except for the Pennsylvania Conference of this church (which has been called the Bible Fellowship Church since 1959) the M.B.C. Church has been known since 1947 as the United Missionary Church, a fitting name for the group, for it is characterized by a vigorous missionary zeal.

us, the hand of fellowship sternly denied us, and by some held as "heathens and publicans." Under these trying circumstances the question, What shall we do? confronted us. As for the popular churches[25] we had no inclination to go that way. Then aside from these were the minor churches. The Dunkards, though they taught many things in unison with our understanding of the Scriptures,—and one of their ministers said to me, "We thought you would go with us,"—yet we thought the general tenor of their preaching savored more of the letter than of the Spirit. And understanding as we did from the Bible that "The letter killeth, but the Spirit maketh alive," we could not make up our minds to seek shelter there. Then there were the Quakers . . . [Page missing].

When Jesus said to His enraged disciples who would "command fire to come down and destroy them, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of, for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Thus refuge in these directions failed us, and the only sure refuge of safety that seemed to remain was in God, who was besought by many earnest prayers to go before us and lead the way according to His own most precious will.

Thus we were led to feel that "in union there is strength," and that in order to be successful in the work of the Lord there needed to be organized effort upon the basis of a union of sentiment founded on the Word of God.

[*End of Brenneman's letter*].

II

The Expulsion of Daniel Brenneman[26]

April 25, 1874

At a Conference held at Yellow Creek Meetinghouse in Elkhart county, Indiana, on the 25th day of April 1874 the conduct of Daniel Brenneman towards the church during the past several months was taken into consideration, and the ministers present came to the following conclusion:

That because Daniel Brenneman in the first place left the church and united himself with and supported a man who had been placed under censure, thus working in direct opposition to his own church and bishops,

And secondly, because he began to teach and practice customs which we hold unscriptural (I Timothy 2:11, 12; I Corinthians 14:34, 35) and which never have been sanctioned in the church,

And thirdly, because he according to the scriptures walked disorderly, causing dissension and offense in the church, both at home and abroad,

We do hereby decide and determine that according to II Thessalonians 3:6, 7 and Romans 16:17, 18 he can no longer be held as a brother in the Church, having of his own accord left the Church, and refused the admonitions and exhortations given him, and withdrawn himself from the rules and regulations which the Gospel, the Church and Conference require of every faithful laborer in the vineyard of the Lord.

It is however distinctly understood that in this conclusion the Conference is led only by the most solemn convictions of duty both towards God and the Church, having no feelings of ill will towards the erring brother,

25 Brenneman here employs a term which is sometimes used by Mennonites to refer to the major denominations. It is a rather critical term which implies that they are popular because they do not exercise a strict Biblical discipline.

26 Transcribed by J. C. Wenger from the original in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen College Biblical Seminary, Goshen, Indiana.

but hereby pray and admonish him to return, acknowledge his error, and labor with us again in the vineyard of the Lord. And that as soon as he shall acknowledge his error, reconcile himself with this and other churches where he has been [a] cause of offense, we shall willingly and heartily welcome him back again.

John M. Christophel	[1819-1886, a bishop]
Jacob A. Beutler	[1833-1886, a bishop]
Christian Christophel	[1820-1883, a preacher]
Henry Shaum	[1826-1892, a preacher]
J. M. Culbertson	[ordained preacher, 1871]
Martin E. Kreider	[1836-1877, a preacher]
Jacob H. Wisler	[1833-1908, a deacon]
Henry B. Brenneman	[1831-1887, a deacon]
John F. Funk	[1835-1930, a preacher]
Henry Christophel	[1826-1881, a deacon]
David Martin	[1829-1902, a deacon]
Joseph Holdeman	[1823-1894, a deacon]

III

List of Daniel Brenneman's Adherents in 1874 and Shortly Thereafter[27]

A document preserved in the family of Elder Daniel Brenneman (1834-1919). List of those who withdrew from the Mennonite Church when Daniel Brenneman was expelled, in 1874, or soon after; Northern Indiana and Branch County, Michigan: Set down by T. H. Brenneman, son of Daniel Brenneman.

Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Krupp, Catharine Krupp, Mr. & Mrs. John Krupp, Mr. & Mrs. Christian Good, Mr. & Mrs. John Good, Mr. & Mrs. Isaac Good, Mr. & Mrs. Isaac Schrock, Mr. & Mrs. William Moyer, Mr. & Mrs. Christian Moyer, Mrs. Abraham J. Moyer, Maria Martin, Mr. & Mrs. Samuel Delcamp, Mr. & Mrs. Jacob Imhoff, Mr. & Mrs. Abraham Holdeman (Branch Co., Mich.), ——— Bolander (Jimtown), Mr. & Mrs. Rudolph Kaegy, Mr. & Mrs. Henry Rickert, Jacob Rickert, Johnny Smeltzer, Mr. & Mrs. David Nunemaker, Mr. & Mrs. Aaron Keedy, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Garberic, Mrs. Hunsberger (Sam's mother), Mrs. Hannah Myers, David Yoder (Nappanee), Valentine Troyer, Mrs. Daniel Brenneman, Mr. & Mrs. John Kreider, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Smith, Mr. & Mrs. Claudius Curtis, Mr. & Mrs. Jas. Culbertson, Mr. & Mrs. Geo. Kechler, Mrs. Isaac Leatherman, Mrs. David Hoover, and Mrs. Thomas Moore.

Those who had been standing aloof for years—too much Mennonites to be Evangelicals and too much Evangelicals to be Mennonites, who immediately or soon after joined the new movement: Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Rohrer, Mr. & Mrs. Sam Neterer, Abraham J. Moyer, Mr. & Mrs. Conrad Clipp, Mr. & Mrs. Jacob Stouffer, Mr. & Mrs. Silas Roose, Mr. & Mrs. John Waterman, Mr. & Mrs. Dan Waterman, Mrs. Benj. Huffman, Mr. & Mrs. Christ. M. Nusbaum, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Ummel, Mr. & Mrs. Henry Pontius, Mrs. Sam Stauffer, Mrs. Dan High, Mrs. Goss (near Locke), Mr. & Mrs. Israel Good, Mr. & Mrs. Isaiah Good, and Sarah Rohrer.

27 Supplied by Professor Naomi Brenneman, and published in the *Mennonite Historical Bulletin,* VIII (July 1947) 3. *The History of Elkhart County* (Chicago, 1881) reports on p. 634 that the first United States Conference of the Reformed Mennonites was held in the church of the Evangelical Association in Harrison Township (a half-mile north of the Yellow Creek Mennonite Church). The 1880 membership in Elkhart County is given as about 200.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

An Early Amish Formulary

The following is a translation of one of fifteen German manuscript booklets presented to Harold S. Bender on May 2, 1948, by H. Volkmar of Colmar, Alsace, France. Originally they were in the possession of a Mrs. Lehmann of the Saarburg (France) Mennonite congregation. Her husband, who died about 1915, had been the preacher serving that congregation.[1] The booklets are of uniform size, home-made of heavy sheets of unruled white paper about $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches, folded in the middle, covered with heavy decorated wall paper or plain dark brown paper and stitched through the center fold with heavy white linen thread. Several covers bear the title "Der Anfang" (the beginning or the opening) in artistic lettering.

The contents of the booklets as well as the handwriting differ widely. Some, "hoary with age," go back to a period when punctuation, capitalization and logical paragraphing were unknown, and both grammar and script were matters of individual preference and usage rather than rule. A few follow modern style and usage. It is possible to reconstruct from the manuscripts the spoken portions of an entire Sunday morning church service and all the special services of the Amish Mennonite church calendar such as Christmas, New Year's Day, Pentecost, the semiannual counsel meeting and communion. Also included are wedding sermons, grave-side remarks at a funeral, exercises for excommunication and restoration of repentant members, and various formularies for ordinations and for administering the various rites of the church.[2] At least three booklets contain a list of the chapters to be read at each of the biweekly church services throughout the calendar year.[3] So far as this writer knows, this is the largest and most complete collection of such manuscripts yet discovered and the only collection containing manuscript sermons for a large variety of occasions. At least one of the sermons, the forenoon prelude to the afternoon communion service, contains over twelve thousand words.

The eight-page booklet translated here lacks a cover and was discovered inserted in another much larger one bearing the title, "Der Anfang." Like most of the other booklets in the collection, the one here translated is written in the German script of a much earlier period without punctuation or capitalization of nouns and of first words of sentences and without logical paragraph divisions.[4] The language has a strong dialect flavor.

1 One of the booklets, one of the few written in good modern German script, contains on the first page in a bold French hand the following: Monsieur Christian Lehmann demerant a Blancrupt commune, Türkenstein canton, Lorquin, Meurthe.

2 For a translation of some similar Mennonite and/or Amish materials, see H.S. Bender, "Some Early American Amish Mennonite Disciplines," *MQR*, VIII (1934), 90-98; and "Amish Church Discipline of 1779," XI (1937), 163-69. See also the following *MQR* articles by John Umble: "Amish Ordination Charges," XIII (1934), 232-50; "Amish Minister's Manual," XV (1941), 95-117; "Manuscript Amish Minister's Manuals in the Goshen College Library," XV (1941) 243-53; and "Catalog of an Amish Minister's (manuscript) Library," XX (1946), 232-40.

3 See "Amish Service Manuals," *MQR* XV (1941), 26-32.

4 Following is a copy of the title and the first ten lines of the manuscript:
fir jemant von der gemein zu thun
So kenen mir auch sehen dasz zu allen zeiten ein gehorsame von dem menschen ist geforderet worden vom anfang, und ich denck sie wirt geforderet werden bisz an das end, und dasz das unreinen allezeit von dem reinen hatt müsen ab gesündert werden, dan ist es dasz die unfruchtbaren schosz von dem winstock nit ab geschniten werden so schaden sie denen gute und fruchtbaren schöseren ist das man die ärgerlichen glieder nicht abschnid so musz der gantze leib verderben und . . .

The formulary here translated sets forth the reason for excommunication: the preservation of the purity and holiness of the church, and follows with two Old Testament examples of the ban. It makes no attempt to soften the shock. The offending member must be put out of the congregation, and the members can no longer have normal association with him. He must be "avoided"; members can no longer eat or drink with him. Three reasons are stated for the excommunication and the consequent "avoidance." The church dare not risk contamination by condoning the offense, the offender must see the wretched state in which his offense has placed him so that he will repent and return to worthy membership in the church, and the good name of the congregation must be preserved.

After these introductory remarks, the officiating elder names the offending member, states the offense for which he is being put out and formally dismisses him from membership. The elder then instructs the congregation on their duties toward their former brother or sister. He is not an enemy, but a friend for whom it is their duty to pray in order that he may be restored and not die in his present lost state on account of not being a member of the church. The elder closes the ceremony with rather pointed remarks intended to prevent gossip on the part of members and possible wrong attitudes of the excommunicated member. Uncompromising sternness is nicely balanced with tender love and concern for the erring member.

The translation follows.

For Putting Anyone out of Church

So we see that, from the beginning, obedience was required of people in all ages, and I think it will be required to the end and that the impure always had to be separated from the pure. For if the unfruitful branches are not cut off from the vine, they will damage the fruit-bearing branches. If one does not cut off the offending members, then the whole body must be ruined; and if one does not excommunicate obvious sinners, trespassers and disobedient, then the whole congregation will become impure. And if one retains false brethren in the congregation, then one becomes a partaker in their sin.

For of this we have many examples in the Holy Scriptures. In Aachan we have such an example. He was placed under the ban and at the command of God he and all that he had was stoned. Joshua said, Because you have frightened us today, may the Lord frighten you and all Israel stoned him. Thus at that time among Israel the ban was frightful, for temporal death was imposed. But now it is still much more terrible, for eternal death is the penalty imposed.

We can also find how Aaron and Miriam murmured against Moses and said, Does the Lord, then, speak only through Moses? Does he not also speak through us? But Moses was a very meek man, meek above all people on the earth. And the Lord said to Aaron and Miriam, Why have you not feared to speak against my servant Moses? and said, Where there is a prophet of the Lord, to him I will make myself known in a vision or in a dream. But my servant Moses is not so. But by word of mouth I speak to him. Miriam soon became a leper and when Aaron looked at her and became aware that she was leprous, he said to Moses, Do pray to the Lord that he may remove this plague from us so that our sister does not become a rejected daughter who is cast out by her husband. Then Moses prayed earnestly to the Lord and said, O Lord God, heal her! But the Lord said

to Moses, If her father had spit in her face, would she not have been ashamed for seven days? Let her be shut out from the camp for seven days. Afterward she is to be brought in again. Accordingly, Miriam was shut out of the camp for seven days and the people did not move until Miriam was brought in again. Thus we see how holy and pure the church of the Lord is to be.

As Peter points out and says, Set your hope on the grace of Christ as children of obedience. For such disobedient persons must be excommunicated and after that shunned and this for three important reasons. The first is that the church may not become partaker of strange sins (*frömden sünden*) and that a little leaven may not sour the whole lump. The second is that the one who has sinned may become ashamed and his spirit attain happiness in the day of the Lord. The third is that the church of God may not be blasphemed on account of the evil members and not bear any blame on their account. For the prophet says, Drive out the self-willed (*eigenrichtigen?*); then anger goes out with him and all strife and scolding cease. And the apostle says, So I command you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to withdraw yourselves from every brother who walks disorderly and not according to the instruction which he received from us.

And so now too there is a brother, or a sister as the case may be, and names them by name and says that such and such a person is placed in (or under) the ban for the reason for which they have been placed under the ban, and says that such and such a person is to be cut off from the vine of the Lord as an unfruitful branch. For the apostle says, If there is anyone who is not obedient to our words, notify him by a letter and have nothing to do with him in order that he may become ashamed. Yet the apostle says, not to consider him as an enemy, but admonish him as a friend. But we are not to greet him with the holy kiss. But we are to say to him, May the Lord help you! For the Lord is the best helper; he can forgive and remit his sins again and give him good thoughts and intentions in his heart again. However, the apostle says, You are not to eat with him. And the prophet says, You are not to go into their workshop to sit with them, let alone to eat and drink with them. Yes, with such fallen persons, avoidance must and shall be kept, so that such a person may retreat into himself and think or say, What a wretched state this is in which I stand! I am not allowed either to eat or to drink with my brethren or sisters. I will repent and make restitution. And yet, let no one take any delight in any such person's plight. For all of us are frail human beings, and whoever is standing let him see to it that he does not fall. Whatever person has not sinned is perfect. But we fall far short of complete perfection.

We are duty bound also to pray for such persons that the Lord may not take them hence until they have become reconciled to their God and Creator. For no salvation is promised to such persons and none is to be hoped for so long as they remain in such a state. For, indeed, the Scriptures say, Outside the heavenly Jerusalem, that is, outside the church of God, are dogs and sorcerers, and whoremongers and murderers and idolaters and all those who love and make lies.

I, Jesus, have sent my angel to testify such things to the churches. I am the root and offspring (lineage) of David, a bright morning star. And whoever hears let him come. And if any thirsts, let him come. And whosoever will, let him take of the water of life without paying.

And one might wish for such people that they could do as Baruch says, If anyone has withdrawn from the Lord, let him exercise ten times

more zeal to seek him earnestly again. For he receives (literally, lets himself be found by) those who do not vex him and manifests himself to those who put their trust in him. But perverse thoughts separate from God. For wisdom does not enter a malevolent heart. Neither does she dwell with those who are subject to sin. For the Holy Spirit looks askance with displeasure at those who play the hypocrite in discipline and wisdom; and where evil takes the upper hand, He leaves. For the Holy Spirit takes no pleasure in him who speaks evil with his lips. The Spirit of the Lord extends around the whole circumference of the earth. And the high good which preserves all things also has an intelligible voice. For this reason too he has no excuse; he cannot escape severe judgment. For on the thoughts of the ungodly, one will have a report. And his speech comes before God who punishes all unrighteousness.

As the apostle points out and says, God was made manifest in the flesh, made righteous in the Spirit, appeared to the angels, preached to the heathen, believed by the world, received up into glory. The apostle may well say, O what a depth of riches, both of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How entirely incomprehensible are his judgments and his ways past finding out! For who has known the mind of the Lord or who has been his counsellor? (Translated and edited by John Umble).

Goshen College JOHN UMBLE

A Review and Discussion

Der Kirchenbegriff der Schwärmer. By Fritz Heyer. Leipzig, 1939 (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, Jahrgang 56, Heft 2, Nr. 166). Pp. 108.

After a handful of pioneers had opened the way for objective research in Anabaptist origins during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the attention of scholars was turned first of all to the discovery and classification of biographical and chronological data. As this study is nearing completion more effort is being expended to understand the Anabaptists' "Theology" and to find their place in the history of doctrine. Most of the work in this field has been done since World War II; but it had begun earlier. One study which did not get the attention it deserved, probably because of its inauspicious date of publication, is that of Fritz Heyer. Apart from a brief critique by Christian Neff[1] and passing mention by Littell,[2] no serious notice seems to have been given his work, in spite of the fact that numerous more recent writings deal with the same subject. In view of the continuity of Heyer's views with those of other historians before and after him, it may be useful to give serious attention to the issues he raises, even at this late date, and even though his work is disappointing.

Heyer was the first modern scholar to base a book-length treatment of the dissidents of Reformation times on the insight, now coming to be generally accepted, that their central originality was their view of the Church. He rightly rejects (pp. 2, 60) the hypothesis of Lüdemann,[3] who, attempting to relate Anabaptism and Reformation in terms of the central preoccupation of Luther, had made the doctrine of justification the focus of his treatment. Both the revolutionary and the nonresistant wings of the radical Reformation (Heyer follows established polemic usage in describing as *Schwärmer* anyone outside the state churches) were interested first of all in the proper reformation of the Church. Heyer's plan is to reconstruct that common view of the Church, to determine its roots and its fruits, to observe how it followed consistently from its premises and to compare it with the solutions the Reformers found for the same problems.

Heyer is well aware of significant divergences between the various groups he lumps together as *Schwärmer.* His thesis is, however, that notwithstanding the difference, which concerns chiefly the Church's strategy for overcoming the world, these groups belong together by virtue of their sharing one view of the Church. He makes only one exception, namely for the "nonpartisan" individualists (Franck, Schwenckfeld), whom recent research has come to refer to as "Spiritualizers." Heyer's grounds for minimizing all these differences are numerous:

(*a*) "Remarkably enough the *Schwärmer* themselves joined together in groups without being bothered by this difference. At this point no dissent arose between them" (p. 32). "Spiritualistic radicalism does not refrain from forming visible churches in this world, but rather commits

1 *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter,* V (1940), pp. 48-53.

2 Franklin H. Littell, *The Anabaptist View of the Church* (second ed. Boston 1958) pp. 145f; in *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision* (Scottdale, 1957), p. 119. Littell characterizes Heyer's position well in a sentence but never analyzes it further.

3 H. Lüdemann, *Reformation und Täufertum in ihrem Verhältnis zum christlichen Prinzip* (Bern, 1896).

itself thereto with the Anabaptists in a common passion" (p. 41). Heyer's claim is on the level of historical fact; he believes that Spiritualists and Anabaptists joined ranks in building churches.

(*b*) The Reformers, notably Luther, Justus Menius, and Heinrich Bullinger, said in their polemic writings that all dissidents were essentially identical, and Heyer finds that their descriptions are true to fact (pp. 4, 30).[4]

(*c*) Heyer reports that he has discerned a recurrent pattern in the development of radicalism. At the beginning stands an eschatologically motivated revolutionary tendency, which expects to overcome the world by divinely inspired violence. When revolution collapses, the same view of the church metamorphoses into a "resignation-form," a persecuted, nonresistant, clandestine church (p. 69 *et passim*). This pattern of recoil from revolution to resignation is basic to Heyer's analysis of the unity of Radicalism.

(*d*) Both tendencies are found by Heyer to hold a common view of the Church. The Radicals want to call together the true Church of the endtime, which will be sinless and universal. This both the violent and the meek have a common. Whether the Great Gathering is to take place by revolution or by withdrawal from the world is a purely tactical difference.

Moving out from this central theme, Heyer groups the teachings of the Radicals topically, dealing successively with the basis for realizing the true Church, the understanding of history, the visibility of the Church, the characteristics of the Church, the relation to the state, and the ministry. At every point the key to the understanding of both major radical groups is found in the paradoxical unity of revolution and resignation. In the process of bringing this proof Heyer demonstrates his mastery of a large mass of source material, primarily the writings of Müntzer, Rothmann, and Riedemann.

Space forbides dealing at adequate length with questions of detail in which Heyer's use of his sources is open to challenge. A few of the more striking cases in point nonetheless merit attention, but first the question which Heyer places first should be reweighed. What shall we think of the theme of the unity of the revolutionary and nonresistant dissenters? The discussion at this point must needs be circular, as is Heyer's own argument. He begins by positing such a unity, uses it as an interpretive framework for his whole study, and then concludes that it has been demonstrated. Anyone who challenges that thesis at the beginning is not made wiser by reading the book, for its credibility stands and falls with the first postulate.

(*a*) Heyer not only cites no proof for his claim that the several types of dissidents "joined to form churches"; it is in fact impossible to know what he means. He cannot be referring to personal contacts between Franck or Schwenckfeld and Anabaptists in South Germany, since the "nonpartisan" Spiritualizers were excepted from the affirmed unity of all dissenters. The idea of some personal contact of Thomas Müntzer with the Zürich Anabaptists might be in Heyer's mind, but he does not say so and in any case there was no such contact.[5] He might mean the entrance of Hans Denck or Hans Hut into Anabaptism, but for those men joining Anabaptism signified a change of position and not the mar-

4 Neff (*loc. cit.*) takes issue sharply with Heyer at this point.

5 H. S. Bender, "The Zwickau Prophets, Thomas Müntzer, and the Anabaptists," *MQR* XXVII (1935), 3ff; Robert Friermann, "Thomas Müntzer's Relation to Anabaptism," *MQR* XXXI (1957), 75ff.

riage of two views. He might mean the common background in the Netherlands of the Obbenites and those who later went to Münster; but that coexistence led to the clear separation of the two groups, and not the metamorphosis of one into the other, thus contradicting Heyer's thesis. This is the point at which Heyer's claim was in the realm not of interpretation but of fact, and in the light of his failure to offer a shred of historical evidence one is forced to conclude that his affirmation is purely imaginative.

(*b*) The polemic writings of the Reformers, whom Heyer chose still to consider as accurate historians, can no longer be accepted as such.[6]

(*c*) Just as we sought in vain for the "joining to form churches," so we remain unsatisfied when we seek cases of the cyclic relationship of revolution and resignation. Generally the reference is to Mennonitism's having rallied the Netherlands and North German radicals to nonresistance after the collapse of the apocalyptic kingdom in Münster. But "Mennonitism," insofar as it here signifies the insistence on biblicism as over against new "revelations" and on nonresistance as over against revolution, existed before Menno became a Mennonite, before and during the entire Müntzer adventure.[7] If any cyclical theory were to be taken seriously, it would have to consider the nonresistant and not the revolutionary form as primary.[8] But even if the Netherlands case were to be understood as has customarily been done, it would not establish a pattern. We should have to be shown the revolution precursory to the Zürich beginnings in 1523-1525 and something similar in Moravia. We should see the "resignation-form" which followed Thomas Müntzer in some other shape than the feeble bridge formed by Hans Hut's being baptized at Augsburg into an already existent South German Anabaptism.

(*d*) There remains the contention of a doctrinal unity behind all the external divergences. According to Heyer, this unity lies in the eschatological tension which led both groups to want to form a visible Church. In Müntzer's case the connection between the apocalyptic expectation of immediate divine intervention and his social strategy is obvious (although Müntzer did not form a visible church); but such views were peculiar to revolutionaries. The only way in which Heyer can ascribe a comparable intention to the "resigned" Anabaptists is by extrapolation from Lutheranism. Lutheranism holds that the gathering of the visible church of true believers is reserved for the endtime; therefore anyone who gathers believers into a visible church must think he is in the endtime. This kind of dialectic, replacing the proof which such a statement would call for with an attempt to be poetic,[9] appears all the more inadequate in contrast with the abundant material Heyer is able to offer at other points.

Just at this point Heyer would have been led, had he used his sources more carefully, to confirm the distinction he attempts to deny. Whereas Rothmann and Müntzer felt themselves to be advanced beyond the New Testament Church and thereby above Scripture, identifying their epoch

6 Heinold Fast's dissertation on Heinrich Bullinger, recently published by the Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, demonstrates how Bullinger, with the best of intentions, constructed with the passage of time an increasingly false picture of Anabaptist origins.

7 Cf. N. van der Zijpp, "Menno en Munster," *Stemmen uit de doopsgezinde broederschap*, Vol. II, No. 1 (January 1953), pp. 6ff.

8 A slim case for such a sequence could be made for Melchioritism 1432-1535 and for the 1525 excesses in Appenzell.

9 "They forsake the world and seek out a place in the desert where they can await the Lord. They have been brought here either by otherworldly mysticism (South Germany and Moravia) or by the bitter experience of the world reformers (Joris and the Mennonites). An inner necessity wills that the Church view with the unlimited claims has always at its side this derived form, as the flame has the pile of ashes, where its glow lies hidden" (p. 30).

with the breaking of a new age,[10] the "resigned" had no other aim than to reinstate the norms of primitive Christianity,[11] thus refusing to place themselves above Scripture and to construct any kind of apocalyptic plan. Not only have we here a difference between the two groups' views of history; this observation leads us further to note that Heyer has made no attempt to compare their views of Scripture—a remarkable omission for a study of the Reformation.

Having observed at what points Heyer's interpretative framework seems unconvincing, we are not overly surprised when this framework in fact forces him to misunderstand matters of fact. By failing to analyze the varying views of Scripture he falsely implies that what he says of Müntzer and Rothmann[12] applies to all dissenters. He flatly reverses the meaning of a Hubmaier citation[13] and reads a nonexistent eschatology into a snatch from the Hutterite Chronicle.[14] Of the four criteria which Heyer says all the Radicals considered as defining the true Church, only two have any relevance for nonresistant Anabaptism.[15]

The reader has the impression that Heyer understands Müntzer, Rothmann, and Schwenckfeld well, and that, were it not for the stubborn attempts to demonstrate their unity with other people and their wrongness in Luther's eyes, the description of their positions would be quite acceptable. On the other hand his grasp of the "resignation-form" groups, especially of the Swiss Brethren and similar movements, is less sure and far less well documented. This is due not only to Heyer's doctrinal orientation, but also to his belonging to a school of Reformation study which grossly underestimated the importance of Huldrich Zwingli and Martin Bucer. Only by neglecting these two men and thereby equating "Luther" with "Reformation" could Heyer maintain his neat scheme. Luther himself threw Zwingli into the same sack with all the other *Schwärmer,* and Luther was right in the sense that the Swiss Brethren were closer to Zwingli in their basic convictions than they were to ex-Lutherans like Schwenckfeld and Müntzer.

The patent inappropriateness of Heyer's analytical tools may well illustrate a more fundamental question of historical method. To what extent is it useful to guide one's interpretation of historical events and movements by concepts and criteria derived not from the events and movements themselves but from persons hostile to them? In the final analysis all that the revolutionaries and the Swiss Brethren had in common beyond deceptive external similarities like the practice of baptism was their opposition to the state churches. Of course there is some point

10 Heyer, p. 24.

11 Littell, (*The Anabaptist View*) makes clear that the Anabaptist theme was one of restoration, not of new revelation. For the Anabaptists there were two ages in history, namely the time before and the time after Christ. Thus the apostolic witness remains central as the yardstick of renewal. For Müntzer and Rothmann a third major epoch of world history is beginning with their own ministry; their renewal therefore meant for them more than restitution. (Cf. Frank Wray, *History in the Eyes of the Sixteenth Century Anabaptists,* Dissertation, Yale, 1953, pp. 137ff, 158ff). Here is a properly eschatological difference between the revolutionaries and the nonresistant Anabaptists which Heyer missed completely.

12 Placing themselves above the Bible (p. 24); placing the New Testament on a higher level of authority than the Old (18); setting the "inner Word" over against the "outer" (36ff.); Heyer even manages to make it seem like a fault of the Anabaptists that their Worms translation of the prophets is more accurate than Luther's since by not making the prophets "preachers' it undermines the Lutheran doctrine of the Word.

13 Hubmaier is falsely reported as having manted to do away with the observance of Sunday.

14 P. 101.

15 Cf. Neff, *op. cit.* p. 50; Heyer affirms in the face of their explicit denials that the Anabaptists considered themselves sinless. The tendency to see everything in the light of its relationship to Lutheranism goes so far that being persecuted - which actually depended on a whim of the State - is presented as constitutive of radicalism. By this yardstick some Lutherans (e.g., in Antwerp) were fanatics and some Anabaptists (e.g., in Moravia) were not.

to saying that men and penguins have much in common since both differ in the same way from quadrupeds, both being bipeds of erect stance. But this superficial similarity hides from no one but cartoonists the obvious fact that man stands morphologically closer to most quadrupeds than to any birds, including penguins. Likewise the biblical Anabaptists stood in every significant respect, in historical origin as in methods and intentions, much nearer to the Reformers than to the revolutionaries. In maintaining nonetheless the all-in-one-sack principle of classification taken from sixteenth century polemics, Heyer builds admittedly on an article by Karl Holl,[16] of which his entire book is in a sense an expansion. Holl's article reacts violently to the classification of Ernst Troeltsch, who because he accepted the results of a half-century of research, had systematically distinguished between the several types of dissenters. Unfortunately for further research, Holl's critique was not accompanied with a credible alternative proposal for the interpretation of the data which were already accumulated and have continued to accumulate to document the basic disparity and mutual independence of the several streams of radicalism.

Nonetheless Holl's position still finds its advocates. One of them is Wilhelm Maurer,[17] who begins by declaring his intention to "test" whether Luther was justified in treating as essentially identical everyone who disagreed with him, from Erasmus to Müntzer. The "testing" is however done almost solely by means of quotations from Luther, and is in Maurer's eyes satisfactorily concluded once one has tried to "see with Luther's eyes."

Somewhat more broadly documented is a recent article by Lowell Zuck.[18] Parallel to the way in which Holl's original article had been directed against Troeltsch, who had too little respect for the peculiar values inherent in the German spirit, Zuck also has a polemic intent; he feels that American Mennonite historians have been too selective and driven by apologetic intentions in their studies of Anabaptism. In stating his critique Zuck does not provide new factual material, nor does his argument really rest on the known facts which he attempts to place in a different light.[19] His main thesis is a restatement of Heyer's claims, first that the primary principle of classification must be the relationship of each dissenting group to the Reformation, and secondly that whatever divergences there may have been between the several groups are swallowed up in a more basic paradoxical synthesis of revolution and resignation.

Zuck's way of stating the first of these claims is the term "counter-revolt." The Reformation represents a revolution which was successful;

16 Karl Holl, *"Luther und die Schwärmer,"* in *Gesammelte Aufsätze,* Vol. I (2d and 3d ed.) 1927, pp. 420ff.

17 Wilhelm Maurer, *Luther und die Schwärmer. Schriften des theologischen Konvents Augsburgischen Benkenntnisses,* Heft 6, Berlin 1952: Martin Schmidt (*Luther und die Täufer im Gesamtverständnis der christlichen Botschaft, Zeichen der Zeit,* V, Berlin, 1951, pp. 81ff) similarly mixes heterogeneous elements in an inaccurate synthesis, but at least does so with a greater degree of understanding and begins with the admission that "Anabaptism is here treated as more of a unity than is consistent with the contemporary status of research."

18 "Anabaptism: Abortive Counter-Revolt within the Reformation," *Church History* XXVI (September 1957), pp. 211ff.

19 The fasct thus reinterpreted may be resumed as follows: (a) Certain figures, notably Hans Hut, moved from Müntzerism to Anabaptism. (b) Conrad Grebel's group wrote a friendly but critical letter to Thomas Müntzer. (c) Although Müntzer did not baptize, the Münsterites did. Zuck does not indicate which American Mennonite scholars ever denied any of these facts. The question is however what is proven by such superficial similarities and contacts when, as Zuck himself admits, differences of basic commitment lay beneath them. Hut confessedly renounced Müntzer's views upon joining the Anabaptists in South Germany. The letter to Müntzer proves no more than the simultaneous letter to Luther proves; in fact its content testifies to the independent thinking of the Zürich group. Compulsory mass baptism of adults such as was practiced at Münster is closer to compulsory pedobaptism than it is to the baptismal practice of the other Anabaptists.

the Anabaptists (including Müntzer) were not satisfied with this revolution and demanded a second one involving the overthrow not only of Roman Catholicism but also of the Reformation.[20] This counter-revolution was "abortive" in that it was crushed by the Protestant authorities. Now there is no point in challenging Zuck's classification as false. One can always classify phenomena on the basis of superficial traits or of their impingement on their environment. On this level it is a tautology not worth our time to say that the dissenting minorities were all dissenting minorities.[21] The criterion by which Zuck's classification must be judged is rather its utility in permitting a more precise and appropriate use of terms and a more consistent and complete description of events. On this level one must conclude that Zuck's terminology sheds no new light and can be maintained only insofar as it remains ambiguous. The category "hopeful" is made to fit everything from clear apocalypticism to Felix Mantz's vision of a believers' church, including in the gamut Grebel's hope that if Thomas Müntzer read the Bible it would enlighten him. Any concept with the breadth of possible meanings which Zuck gives to "hopefulness" by the series of quotations with which he illustrates it ends by having no meaning at all. "Revolutionary" and "defensive" are kept equally unclear. The only grounds for the reproach addressed to American Mennonite scholars would seem to be that they followed the consensus of the most competent earlier scholars (Cornelius, Goebel, Heberle, Karl Müller, Hegler, Troeltsch) and of contemporary non-Mennonite authorities (Blanke, Littell) in being dissatisfied with the chatch-all terminology of a pre-scholarly age.[22] Historians, American Mennonites among them, will listen respectfully if a credible alternative approach to the classification and interpretation of the whole gamut of dissenters is proposed; but Holl, Heyer, and Zuck have thus far not done so.

The study of church history is not primarily a historical discipline subject to the norms of that discipline; it is also a theological discipline

20 "Counter-revolution" normally is taken to mean not an attempt to go beyond a previous successful revolution, but rather an attempt to overthrow a revolution and return to the *status quo ante*.

At this point Zuck has made a significant addition to Heyer's definitions. The definition of Anabaptism includes thus *necessarily* its arising on the terrain of the completed and successful Reformation. This raises new questions as to the clarity and the utility of Zuck's terms: (*a*) When Anabaptism began, the Reformation was by no means complete. In some places it had not even begun. At the time of the first baptism in Zürich Zwingli was still saying Mass and refusing the cup to the laity. If with Zuck one were to take Müntzer to be the first Anabaptist, this difficulty would be still clearer. In the Netherlands Anabaptism preceded Protestantism by twenty years; in the Tyrol it spread through Catholic countrysides where there never was a Reformation. (*b*) To apply the term "revolution" to the gradual, painfully cautious and consciously conservative state-church reformation stretches language beyond recognizability. Of course some of the changes made were more radical than the Reformers realized, but this is also true of many changes within Catholicism, without our being able to call the Concordat with Napoleon or the Vatican Council "revolutionary" in any useful sense of the term.

21 Even at this point the application of the term "abortive" to the "results" achieved by the nonresistant group is possible only by attributing to them goals they never had. At the earliest date at which we can be sure that the Grebel group had any defined selfawareness and sense of mission (summer of 1524) they were clear that they would renounce violence, abandon any hope of winning the civil authorities to their views, baptize only those who confessed their faith, and form a cross-bearing believers' church. In all this they succeeded. In fact the similarity between what the Anabaptists envisioned as a goal in 1524 and what existed in 1540 as a result of their efforts is greater than would obtain in a similar comparison for Luther or Zwingli.

The only ground Zuck offers for classifying Grebel as "hopeful" is his feeling, abandoned at the latest by mid-1524, that a city council could be elected which would favor the Reformation he envisaged. Does it help communication to call such an expectation revolutionary?

22 The very real possibility that some of these historians may have erred with regard to the date, the degree of consciousness and clarity, and the uniformity of the distinction between the several Anabaptist parties, as suggested by George H. Williams (*Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers* [Philadelphia, 1957] p. 28), is on a quite different level from Zuck's thesis.

dealing with attempts to find, obey, and proclaim the truth. The church historian has not discharged his duty when he has reported the facts; he must further evaluate them in the light of specifically theological criteria. Especially is it the case in our day that the church historian must not only weigh his material with the scales of his own territorial confessionalism, but also test those scales against the standards of the broader Christian community. Church history must be an ecumenical ministry.

Differing at this point from Karl Holl, Heyer betrays no interest in this dimension of his task. It is so self-evident to him that traditional Lutheranism is the only standard of comparison that he never even feels the need to weigh further any question once he has indicated in what respect the *Schwärmer* differed from Luther. This lack of ecumenical perspective reflects even on the historical quality of Heyer's work. The Anabaptists agreed with Zwingli and Luther on the ultimate authority of Scripture and had no other aim than to live by the New Testament. That they disagreed with Luther in the way they carried out this intention is common knowledge; more significant is the fact which Heyer missed entirely, that the real intent of both Luther and the dissenters was a common one, so that to do either of them justice Heyer should have measured both by the higher norm of Scripture as well as by the historical perspective of later centuries. Only the failure to seek any such perspective and to examine his own orthodoxy in the light of both Scripture and the present can explain why Heyer, writing in the time of the life-and death struggle of the German churches, could say (p. 91) that the peaceable *Schwärmer* stood in an "unwholesome relationship" to the state because "obedience in the true sense of the word" should mean not mere submission to the state but that the Church should "let her will be broken by the political authority."[24] Thus this extensively documented study, which could have been of rare contemporary significance in the Germany of 1939 and served as groundwork for a decade of scholarly and ecumenical progress, has by the provinciality of its evaluative framework and by choosing as typical of "radicalism" two revolutions, each of which collapsed in less than two years, instead of the truly original and specific Anabaptist view of the Church, which has remained alive and fertile through the centuries, turned out in the end neither as original nor as helpful as it could have been. It lacks that note of empathy which is fundamental for writing of historical theology, even when one must disapprove of the positions which one describes.

Elkhart, Indiana JOHN H. YODER

Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers, edited by George Huntston Williams and Angel M. Mergal. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957, Pp. 421. $5.00. Part II: *Evangelical Catholicism as Represented by Juan de Valdes.* Edited by Angel M. Mergal (pp. 295-397).

The second[1] part of this notable volume brings to the attention of English readers the practically unknown contribution of Spanish left-wing Evangelicals, who can however not be called Anabaptists in a strictly historical sense. This is the work of one of the few persons in Spanish Protestantism who could have done such an excellent job, Dr. Angel M. Mergal, Professor of Theology at the Evangelical Seminary of Puerto Rico, now teaching in the University of Puerto Rico. Another such authority would have been Dr. B. Foster Stockwell, who had already brought out

1 For a review of Part I, see *MQR* (1958), pp. 315-318.

translations of Juan de Valdes' *Dialogo de doctrina cristiana* (1946) and *Alfabeto Christiana* (1948) for the series of *Obras clasicas de la reforma,* published by La Aurora, Buenos Aires. These works were naturally intended for the younger Protestant churches of Latin America, and so gave no special emphasis to any noticeable "Anabaptist" influence except the significant inclusion of Valdes' *Sermon on the Mount* with the *Dialogo.*

Just how near to Anabaptism Valdes was is still a debatable question. Eduardo Boehmer, the most trustworthy historian of the Protestant literature of Spain, Professor of Romance Languages in Strasbourg (d. 1905), says about Valdes that "he baffles classification, that a theologian of such originality cannot be a Lutheran, nor a Calvinist, and much less an Anabaptist."[2] But Menendez y Pelayo, himself a Roman Catholic critic and historian, says that in matters of faith and justification "Valdes was a foursquare Lutheran (luterano cerrado), in matters of the Trinity a Unitarian, and in everything else an 'Inner Lighter', predecessor of George Fox and Barclay."[2]

If none of the English histories of the Reformation carries more information regarding Juan de Valdes than George Fisher's, perhaps the following observations on his life and writings would be appreciated by the readers of the *Review.*

Valdes was born in Cuenca about eighty miles southeast of Madrid toward the close of the fifteenth century. According to the *Diccionario de la literatura espanola* (Madrid, 1953), he was "one of the representatives of the ideological crisis at the beginning of the sixteenth century" in Spain. His twin brother, Alfonso, was influential in forming a friendship and correspondence between Juan and Erasmus, which brought fruit in the many writings of Juan and was the basis of his theology.

In the divided Spain of that time, then on the verge of an Erasmian revolution, Valdes wrote his *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine* (1529), after which he felt it was to his advantage to escape to Italy. Most of his writings appeared first through his Italian friends and some of them were not translated back into Spanish until many years later. As a matter of fact, the *Dialogo,* although it originated in Spain, apparently disappeared entirely in that country and reappeared 400 years later through the Frenchman Marcel Bataillon, who published it again in 1925. At least Menendez y Pelayo makes no mention of this work, whether out of ignorance or other reason is not known.

The following is a partial list of what seem today to be the most important of Valdes' writings besides the *Dialogo de doctrina cristiana: Dialogo de la lengua* (1533), first printed in 1737, for which Valdes is venerated as the first historian of the Spanish language and the second philologist—after Nebrija (1492);

Alfabeto cristiano (?), first published in Italian in 1546. An English translation by Benjamin Wiffen appeared in 1861;

Comentario . . . sobre la epistola de S. Paulo Apostol a los Romanos (1556), 340 pages.

Comentario . . . a los Corintios (1557), 450 pages.

Ciento diez consideraciones divinas (1550), 244 pages. There are two English translations: (*a*) By Farrer (Oxford Univ., 1638) pp. xvi and 311. Another printing (Cambridge Univ., 1646) pp. 476. (*b*) By Betts (Quaritch, London, 1865), pp. 197-586;

2 Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos espanoles,* 8 vols. (Emecé, Buenos Aires, 1945), p. 276.

Comentario a San Mateo, long "lost" in manuscript form (not the author's) in the Imperial Library, Vienna. First published in Spanish in Madrid, 1880, pp. 537.

Apparently Valdes went to Naples "because his opinions did not allow him to remain any longer in Spain with any degree of security." He had written his *Dialogo de doctrina cristiana* in 1529 and because it was soon placed in the Index of prohibited books by the Inquisition he betook himself to Rome in 1531. All of his other works were written in Italy including his *Dialogo de la lengua* (1533), which some think was the result of his teaching Spanish to Italian erudites. Whatever the occasion of this *Dialogo,* the fact remains that in old Spain it is practically the only one of his writings that is recognized or even moderately well known. Menendez y Pelayo recognizes him grudgingly, after Nebrija, as the father of Spanish philology, etymology, and general Spanish linguistics.

The *Dialogo de doctrina cristiana* is the only one of Valdes' writings to be published during his lifetime, and some call it the first Protestant evangelical work published in Spain. For this reason it seems a pity that this volume of Christian Classics there should appear only a slight portion of so important a work. The selection here reproduced is on the Pater Noster (Lord's Prayer), a theme that in those days had been expounded and hashed over by practically any writer of any value. Just to show the wealth of material to choose from in the *Dialogo,* may I insert here the full list of contents as taken from Dr. Stockwell's version: Marks of the Christian (page 29), The Apostles' Creed (37), The Ten Commandments (53), Love to God and Man (83), Mortal Sins (90), Four Cardinal Virtues (102), Three Theological Virtues (106), Seven Gifts of the Spirit (110), Five Commands of the Church (118), Tithes and Offerings (131), Devotion and Prayer (139), The Lord's Prayer (142), Compendium of the Holy Scriptures (159), How Children should be Instructed (169), Contemplation (173), Books to Read (175).

It is the opinion of this reviewer that some indication should be given in anthologies of this type of the proportion of the selection presented in comparison to the entire composition. The same could be said of the *Hundred and Ten Considerations,* the most influential of Valdes' writings in Europe, of which Mergal gives an extensive bibliography, yet omitting in every instance the number of pages. So also regarding the *Christian Alphabet.* That is, one can better form an opinion about the importance of a writer by knowing something of the volume of his production, supposing naturally that what is omitted is of equal value as the sample. On the other hand Dr. Mergal gives a bibliography showing the works that are not sampled at all in this anthology, with at least nine additional titles.

We are greatly endebted to Dr. Mergal for even this meager selection from one who was not only a great literary Spanish figure, but also a great Christian, and we are especially grateful that he has been placed in the category where he belongs—among the great Spanish Protestants—almost an Anabaptist. Menendez y Pelayo said, "The Spanish language was never made to speak heresies," but Juan de Valdes stands up among those who gave their all to speak the whole truth, whether it was what Rome said or not. And Valdes said it right under the nose of Rome!

LaPlata, Puerto Rico ELVIN V. SNYDER

The Anabaptist View of the Church. A Study of the Origin of Sectarian Protestantism. By Franklin Hamlin Littell. Second edition, revised, and enlarged. Starr King Press, Beacon Hill, Boston, 1958. Pp. xi 229. $6.00.

Originally published in 1952 by the American Society of Church History as a Brewer Prize Essay, and almost immediately out of print because of the small edition of 400 copies, a second revised edition of this classic monograph is most welcome.

The major changes in the new edition are: (1) the placing of the former bibliographical Chapter I at the end as Chapter V; (2) an enlargement of the text proper by about one-fourth; (3) numerous changes in the headings, and insertion of many more sub-headings to clarify the structure of the thought; (4) and a thorough reworking of the material contents, which is indicated by an increase of the footnotes from 585 to 713, and the inclusion of numerous citations from the most recent literature with a corresponding increase in the bibliography. However, much of the original text remains, and the main lines of the thought and the conclusions come through in the new edition substantially unchanged and strengthened. There has been no enlargement to include the Dutch Anabaptist voices, or the newer theological insights from Pilgram Marpeck and other South German Anabaptists (the revision apparently was made before the publication of the Marpeck naterials by Kiwiet, Klassen, and Bergsten). But three new sections have been added—one on the tolerance of Philip of Hesse, one on the opposition of the Reformers to a literal obedience to the Great Commission, and one on the Anabaptists and natural law. A third edition, which is sure to be needed, might be used to enlarge the scope of the study, although it would without doubt not modify the author's central interpretations.

This is the book which has made and will continue to make the deepest and most powerful thrust into the theological understanding of Anabaptism. It epitomizes the best results of modern research and plows new ground in interpretation. It is a basic work for all Anabaptist study, although it by no means covers or exhausts the field, being limited to the doctrine of the Church.

The second edition is attractively printed and bound, but it costs too much for its size.

Goshen College Biblical Seminary HAROLD S. BENDER

Plain Girl. By Virginia Sorensen. Illustrated by Charles Geer. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955. $2.75

To the growing number of fine-spirited stories on the Amish and Mennonite theme in the children's book field done by "outside" writers, has been added Virginia Sorensen's *Plain Girl.* The author herself is a Mormon. Reviewers of *Plain Girl* in such sources as the following have been uniformly favorable:

> A story of the Amish people told through the thoughts and adventures of Esther Lapp. A shy child at first, she grows up into a girl who thinks for herself and who can accept the best of a "new world" without giving up the tradition into which she was born.—*Children's Catalog.*
>
> Developing her theme tactfully, her characters perceptively, the author reaches into the heart of Amish life. Early teenagers as well as younger readers will leave this engrossing tale with appreciation

and understanding of the tradition, ideals and problems of the Amish.—*N. Y. Times.*

Miss Sorensen is particularly good at showing both sides of the picture: the sincere goodness of the Amish people, and little Esther's natural yearning to be "best friends" with pretty Mary in her lovely pink dress.—*Horn Book.*

Our own Mennonite reviewer for the *Mennonite Weekly Review* (February 26, 1959), Melvin Gingerich, says:

Plain Girl is a good book too and exciting enough to have made me burn the midnight oil a few days ago when I read it. . . . A story such as this must certainly create tolerance for minority groups among the child readers for whom the book is intended.

The general spirit of the book is so excellent and so serious an attempt is made to see the Amish minority point of view that one hesitates to point out the incorrect interpretations that run through the volume. Again one wishes that the publishers had insisted that the manuscript be read by someone who really knew the Amish.

Beginning with the art work, which by the way is skillfully done, one must point out that Amish girls and women do not wear their bonnets in the classroom, at the dinner table, in church, as the pictures show. . . . That Amish children are forbidden to have friends among non-Amish children was certainly not true in the Amish public school where I taught years ago.

That Amish children hesitate to even look at other people is a far-fetched idea. The ones I have seen are full of curiosity and not overly inhibited as they meet strangers. . . . It is not true that following the Sunday worship services the men spend the afternoon sitting in the yard drinking beer. . . .

In spite of these mistakes, and others, the book is sympathetically written and I believe most readers will enjoy it. Whether the average youngster will be able to understand the issues in the clashing cultures is another matter. Perhaps older readers will see more point in the story, although to be sure most children will enjoy meeting Esther even if they do not fully understand her.

This reviewer would agree with Dr. Gingerich that *Plain Girl* is not so much a book for children as it is a book about a child, skillfully done nevertheless. Sorensen's *Miracles on Maple Hill* (Harcourt, 1956), for which she was deservedly awarded the Newberry Medal in 1957, is more forthrightly a child's book although both books deal with a little girl's trying to understand the confusions of her elders. *Plain Girl* raises so many questions about Amish beliefs and practices in such short space that the writer must assume more background than the average reader may bring to the book. Are the reader's concepts of Esther's problems clarified or confused as the little sister thinks over Dan's comment to the church gathering, "I wonder what harm a button may do a man's soul." And although the setting is an Amish home, perhaps the problem featured is not so distinctly Amish as it is the dilemma of any child who tries to think about meanings and who reflects on the conflict between ends and means in the adults around him.

Also one has the feeling that Esther could not have arrived at the mature conclusions she did with such beautifully sensitive perceptions had she not been blessed with perceptive parents. Yet in her need she has no freedom of access to them as she struggles through her problem.

On the day Amish Esther and "English" Mary—"bosom friends"—agree to exchange costumes at school, Mary's mother, not knowing the arrangement, forbids Mary on this chilly November Monday to wear the frilly pink dress Esther loves:

> Esther sat absolutely still. No woodcock ever sat more quietly on its nest. It was as if all the worry she had ever known in her life had melted away. There had been the first great shock of disappointment about the dress, but now a wonderful feeling of relief and happiness had come instead. Mary's mother was just the same as her own. Probably Mary's father was like Father too, in certain ways. They decided what could be worn and what couldn't be worn, and when, just as Amish parents did.
>
> Above all—What had Mary said? *I couldn't tell her I wanted to change with somebody.* There were things Mary couldn't say to her mother, and probably to her father. So it was the same whether you were Plain or not. It was only being young and being old. And Dan—now he was between.

This kind of comment seems unfortunate in a book which features a delightful child like Esther and assumes that *all* children feel the same as she does about parents and age differences. Too many children, it is true, lack freedom of communication with their parents. However, reading stories of good communication between parents and children (as in de Angeli's *Henner's Lydia* and *Yonie Wondernose*) may be one way in which they will learn that they need not duplicate their own experience in the lives of their children. Esther and Dan to the end of the book do not share their secret understanding with their parents. This reviewer is grateful that she never knew a time as a child when she could not freely discuss any and every question with either parent without fear of censure, ridicule, authoritarian domination, or unwillingness on their part to examine the new in the light of the old and vice versa. The spoken or unspoken assumption in these discussions was, "We want to seek God's will as we think through this situation in the light of His Word."

The little sister-big brother relation in *Plain Girl* is lovely as is the big brother's awareness that his liberty may mean disaster to his dear ones. However, when Dan eventually gives up buttons rather than be deprived of his birthright, we are left uncertain as to whether or not he is returning to a material security only, or with a new understanding of the relation of form and meaning which will help him supply the spiritual leadership his father lacked. We fear that Sarah, whom he is to marry, will be unable to help him find his way beyond pies and tractors to the great commission as the dominant concern in his life. Sarah says:

> "Esther, when Dan wants all the new things and says I want all the old things, do you know what I tell him? *What if I had to invent how to make every pie and every cake and had learned nothing from my mother at all?* How foolish would that be?" Her eyes were sparkling. "Do you know what he said last night? He said the pies had convinced him. He said he was sure he could not make any better pies with a tractor!"

Plain Girl gives plain people occasion for thoughtful reflection.

Goshen College MARY N. ROYER